

1969

A Comparison of the Projected Image of John F. Kennedy in the Mass Media With the Held-Image of a Sample of College Students.

Jack Wright Jr

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WRIGHT, Jr., Jack, 1933-

**A COMPARISON OF THE PROJECTED IMAGE
OF JOHN F. KENNEDY IN THE MASS MEDIA
WITH THE HELD-IMAGE OF A SAMPLE OF
COLLEGE STUDENTS.**

**The Louisiana State University and Agricultural
and Mechanical College, Ph.D., 1969
Sociology, general**

University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan

A COMPARISON OF THE PROJECTED IMAGE OF
JOHN F. KENNEDY IN THE MASS MEDIA
WITH THE HELD-IMAGE OF A SAMPLE
OF COLLEGE STUDENTS

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirement for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of Sociology

by

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Doctor of Philosophy, Summer Commencement, 1969
Major: Sociology; Minor: History
A Comparison of the Projected Image of John F. Kennedy in the
Mass Media with the Held-Image of a Sample of College Students
Dissertation directed by Professor Virgil Williams
Pages in Dissertation, 175. Words in Abstract, 504.

This study had two foci: (1) to determine the projected image of John F. Kennedy in the mass media by a content analysis of all articles written about him in seven major magazines during the period 1960-1967; and (2) to measure the held-image of John F. Kennedy by a sample of college students and determine how this held-image is affected by selected socio-economic variables.

The total sample participating in this study consisted of 360 upper-division students, selected by random sample, from Florida State University and Florida A & M University.

The major findings of the study were: (a) the projected image was generally favorable with the number of favorable articles being four times that of unfavorable ones; (b) the area of his image receiving the greatest attention in the seven year period dealt with articles concerning his personal characteristics. The highest percentage of unfavorable articles concerned his ability as a President; however, when his record in foreign policy versus his performance on domestic issues are compared, foreign policy ran ahead.

The mass media did have an impact on the held-image of John F. Kennedy by the sample of college students. Television was the primary source of information by which the student sample first became aware of John F. Kennedy. Television was also perceived as the most believable source of news.

The held-image of John F. Kennedy by the college sample was a generally favorable one. He was, by far, the most admired contemporary political figure for these college students. He received more first place "votes" than all seven other political figures suggested as alternatives combined. Similarly, the sample ranked Kennedy ahead of the five Presidents who preceded him in that office, and seventy-six per cent rated him as either a "Great" or "Near Great" President.

The traits the students admired most in him were "good speaker," "dynamic personality," and, most of all, his intelligence. The two events which were important in student assessment of John Kennedy were the assassination and the Cuban missile crisis. For many, the assassination apparently made manifest a prior latent attachment to the President.

The held-image of John F. Kennedy varied with the socio-economic background of the respondent. The students upon whom President Kennedy had the greatest impact were: females, Negroes, students whose parents were from low-income and low-status occupations, liberals, Democrats and those from farm backgrounds who grew up in the South.

Those who rated Kennedy less favorably had the following socio-economic characteristics: white, male, high-income and high-status occupation for parents, Republican, conservative, and reared in large cities outside the South.

The impact of this held-image of John F. Kennedy was primarily in the area of attitude formation and political opinion. He

generated an interest in these American youths in politics, history and world affairs. President Kennedy left the students with a more positive attitude toward politics as a profession and the Presidency as an office. He influenced the students toward a more favorable view of the civil rights movement and reduced the prejudice against a Catholic President.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

"The journey of a thousand miles," John F. Kennedy was fond of quoting, "begins with a single step." The gaining of a Ph.D. begins with the learning of the alphabet in the first grade. The writer is grateful for the assistance and encouragement of a number of persons, not all of whom will be mentioned here.

In an academic career a student has many professors, but only one Major Professor, the man who guides his doctoral dissertation. This investigator was especially fortunate to have as his Major Professor a man who possesses a seminal theoretical mind, Dr. Virgil Williams, and is especially appreciative of his guidance and counsel, both academic and personal.

The writer extends his appreciation to other members of the research committee. Dr. Rex Enoch, in the morning of his academic career, demanded a standard of excellence that made the study more precise and methodologically sound. Drs. Vernon Parenton, W. J. Jokinen, and Alvin Bertrand taught this researcher throughout his graduate career and contributed to his life and thought beyond their contribution in this research. Dr. Joann Carrigan added constructive criticism from a historical point of view.

Deep appreciation goes to the student assistants at Florida State University who typed faithfully and believed in the study: Connie Hartsfield, Lynda Gagnon, and Barbara Schweitzer. The final draft was typed by Mrs. Mary McCoy; the writer is thankful for her expertise.

A special thanks to Kathy Reilly who used her mathematical mind to fathom the mysteries of the computer center.

The writer also thanks Professor Helen Wilson of Northwest Nazarene College, Nampa, Idaho, who told this researcher in his senior year: "Jack, if you wanted to, you could earn a Ph.D."

The value of education was gained from the writer's mother, Mrs. Sadie Joffrion Wright, a woman with fixed opinions about persons who possess neither brains nor industry.

Finally, the writer is indebted to his wife, Bonnie Overcast Wright, for her Job-like patience, and to Roxie who brought daddy some magazine articles about Kennedy for "his book," and to Sherry who wondered when daddy would "turn into a doctor."

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

Social psychologists have long recognized that people carry pictures in their heads, or images of others, which influence their behavior. It has been stated by many journalists, biographers and some sociologists that because John F. Kennedy was the youngest man ever elected to the office of the Presidency, he had a special impact on this college generation. Newsweek, in an informal survey in March 1965, wrote in an article entitled, "An Ideal Man--They Remember JFK":

This college generation was growing up just as the nation bade farewell to the oldest President in its history and welcomed the youngest man ever elected to that office. College students found in John Kennedy a man of intellect who surrounded himself with men of the campus. It was love at first sight, and the passion intensified with the Inaugural exhortation to selfless public service.¹

Since the average college student would not meet a President personally, his image of the President would necessarily be gained primarily from exposure through the

¹"An Ideal Man--They Remember JFK," Newsweek (March 22, 1965), p. 47.

mass media. The purpose of this study was to determine the image projected by the mass media of John F. Kennedy and to compare this with the image held by a sample of college students. This study also explored the relationship between selected socio-cultural variables and these held-images.

Importance of the Problem

"The inauguration of John Fitzgerald Kennedy as President of the United States is replete with sociological implications,"² wrote Joseph Green, Jr., President of the Philadelphia chapter of the American Catholic Sociological Society. A study of the image held by college students of John F. Kennedy should be of value in determining the impact of the mass media upon image formation. It will cast some light on the role of the socio-cultural background of the individual in the selection, interpretation, and dissemination of images. Further, it will help indicate the influence of President John F. Kennedy on this generation of college students.

The need for research in the area of perceptual factors governing our impression of other persons has been pointed out by Bruner and Tagiuri. In their review of the literature they state there are obvious gaps present in the impression-formation literature. There are no systematic

²Joseph Green, Jr., "The Public Image of President Kennedy," The Catholic World, Vol. 193 (May 1961), p. 106.

studies devoted to an analysis of the special state of human beings as objects of knowledge.³

With respect to the type of research most needed in this area, Hasdorf, Richardson and Dornbush see a need to place emphasis on the social context of the perceptual act. In their review of the literature in this area, they say that much of the research has an isolationist aura in that the concern with perceptual variables has led to a lack of concern with other aspects of interpersonal behavior. This is explained, in part, by the fact that we are dealing with a relatively young area of research. They argue that the most helpful empirical studies will be those that specifically tie a perceptual act to other aspects of behavior.⁴

This particular investigation attempted to be unique because of its twin focus. A careful perusal of both Dissertation Abstracts and Sociological Abstracts revealed no existing studies which attempt to ascertain both a projected and a held image. In the existing literature, studies have had only one focus--either a content analysis of a projected image, or an attempt to measure a received one.

³Jerome S. Bruner and Renato Tagiuri, "The Perception of People," Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol. 2 (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc., 1954), pp. 648-49.

⁴Albert H. Hasdorf, Stephen A. Richardson, and Stanford M. Dornbush, "The Problems of Relevance in the Study of Person Perception," Person Perception and Interpersonal Behavior (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1953), pp. 54-62.

The Kennedy image was a useful piece of data with which to test hypotheses in the area of mass communication because of the pervasiveness of the news coverage about him. Concerning this fact, Earl Hutchinson wrote: "Never has such a vast amount of favorable publicity been given a President."⁵ College students seemed especially suited as a test group due to the feeling that they were especially affected by President Kennedy; and, their increasing importance as a social category in American society--there being fifteen college students today for every one on a campus in 1900.

Review of the Literature

Kenneth Boulding has suggested that a new science be established to study the symbolic communication of images. He would call this new discipline "Eiconics"--from the Greek word icon, meaning image.⁶ John Chamberlain presents this succinct summary of this suggested area of investigation.

I came upon the term eiconics, invented by Professor Kenneth E. Boulding to cover the prevailing theory of how the average mind works. As the horse fanciers would put it, eiconics is by Madison Avenue out of Emmanuel Kant, with a blessing from Gestalt psychologists thrown in for good measure. To come down from the stratosphere, it means that Joe Blow arrives at conclusions not by

⁵ Earl R. Hutchison, "Kennedy and the Press: The First Six Months," Journalism Quarterly, Vol. 38, No. 4 (Autumn, 1961), p. 453.

⁶ Kenneth E. Boulding, The Image (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1966), p. 148.

testing, comparing, and analyzing information, but by grabbing for images, and stopping right there.⁷

While there is no separate science devoted to the study of the growth, change, and impact of images in society, at least four disciplines have recognized and investigated the importance of image formation to behavior: Gestalt psychology, social psychology, psychiatry, and the sociology of knowledge.⁸

Gestalt psychologists recognized the importance of the image as they conceived the human organism, not as a stimulus-response machine, but as an organization. Social psychology, beginning with George Herbert Mead, has been concerned with the images human beings hold of each other. Recently, social psychologists have done extensive research on communication in small groups. Psychoanalysis has been concerned with the concept of image, both conscious and unconscious, in an attempt to improve its therapeutic techniques. Necessarily, most of their research is concerned with an atypical population--the mentally ill. The sociology of knowledge, born as a reaction, either favorable or unfavorable, to Karl Marx, tries to relate what people think to their social position.

All of these disciplines recognize that for an individual to function in society, he must have an accurate

⁷John Chamberlain, "The Chameleon Image of John F. Kennedy," National Review (April 23, 1960), p. 261.

⁸Boulding, op. cit., pp. 150-52.

image of the world about him. He must know where he is geographically, e.g., that he is in the United States and not Russia, or in Jackson, Mississippi and not the Harlem section of New York City. The normal person can also locate himself in time. He has a picture in his mind of how old he is, how long he has lived in a particular area, and that twenty-four years have passed since the end of World War II. A third way we are located is in the world of nature. In order to survive, we learn that fire burns, water will not support you unless you swim, and that sleeping and driving an automobile simultaneously is hazardous. Also, the individual is located in a field of personal relations. Everyone identifies themselves with respect to some defined status positions. In order to have some assurance of how our words and actions will be received by other persons in society, we must have some knowledge of these persons. This knowledge may be called "the image of the other."⁹

Sometimes "the image of the other" is a social stereotype. A number of studies have found that people associate a specific set of characteristics with given ethnic groups. For example, Americans tended to think of pre-Hitler Germans as scientific-minded and methodical or Jews as shrewd, mercenary and grasping. The stereotype of Negroes presented them as superstitious, lazy, happy-go-lucky, and ignorant.

⁹George H. Mead, Mind, Self, and Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934).

Although erroneous, these "images" operate as guides to behavior. The person who holds such "images" sees each member of these groups as embodying all of its stereotyped characteristics.¹⁰

What has been discussed is "knowledge"--knowledge which Kenneth Boulding suggests creates our "image of the world."¹¹ This knowledge is subjective, and it is this subjective image of reality that largely governs behavior. Although some persons have cognitive maps for which there exists no objective territory, their behavior must be explained on the basis of what they believe to be reality.

The importance of this subjective experience to a science of behavior was emphasized by W. I. Thomas:

A document prepared by one compensating for a feeling of inferiority or elaborating a delusion of persecution is as far as possible from objective reality, but the subject's view of the situation . . . may be the most important element for the interpretation. For his immediate behavior is closely related to his definition of the situation. . . . If men define situations as real they are real in their consequences.¹²

Recognizing the importance of this "image" for behavior, the question arises: How is it formed and under what conditions does it change?

¹⁰Eugene L. Hartley and Ruth E. Hartley, Fundamentals of Social Psychology (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1959), p. 40.

¹¹Boulding, op. cit., p. 5.

¹²For a discussion of Thomas on this issue, see: Edmund H. Volkart, Social Behavior and Personality (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1951), pp. 80-81.

The messages which an individual receives, and if accepted, form his "image of the world" are primarily socially inherited from his parents. Studies have indicated that this "image" tends to persist into later life. In a study involving 324 children in grades four through eleven, subjects were asked to make comparisons between Negroes and whites, with reference to sixty traits. The investigators found that the children came closer to the adult stereotypes as they grew older.¹³

Avigdor studied two groups of girls aged 10-12 in both conflict and cooperative situations with each other. Each group was presented with an adjective check list and asked to rate the members of other groups. Favorable judgments were observed in cooperative interaction between groups, while unfavorable judgments followed conflict interaction. The conclusion reached was that stereotypes of one group developed by another group depend on the type of contact existing between the two groups.¹⁴

Fishman studied Jewish pupils attending schools of the Orthodox-All-Day combination and found they accepted negative stereotypes concerning the majority of Americans to a significantly greater extent than did the Jewish pupils

¹³Hartley and Hartley, op. cit., p. 221.

¹⁴Rosette Avigdor, "Etude Experimentale de la Genese des Stareotypes" (Experimental Study of the Genesis of Stereotypes), Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie (France), 1953, Vol. 14, pp. 154-168.

attending schools of all other ideological-structural combinations. The degree of acceptance of a negative stereotype of the majority of Americans increased significantly with age in the several ideological-structural combinations. Differences in the two groups tended to fuse around age thirteen. Fishman's conclusion was: the different types of minority-group indoctrination do not affect attitudes of pupil groups concerning the majority of Americans nearly as much as do the many experiences with the values, practices and institutions of the majority of Americans, which pupils of different types of Jewish schools increasingly share as they grow older.¹⁵

It has also been suggested that the mass media may be an important factor in the development and diffusion of stereotypical "images." Berelson and Salter analyzed the frequency and nature of characteristics in a sample of magazine short stories. They found the character in a story receives better treatment the closer he is to the norm of "The American," i.e., white Protestant, English-speaking, Anglo-Saxon.¹⁶

Our image of the world is dynamic, not static. New experiences subject this "image" to change. Since our

¹⁵J. A. Fishman, "Negative Stereotypes Concerning Americans Among American-Born Children Receiving Various Types of Minority-Group Education" (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation-Columbia University, 1953). Dissertation Abstracts. Vol. 13, p. 895.

¹⁶Hartley and Hartley, op. cit., pp. 697-98.

behavior is based on knowledge, or "image" of reality, then as this cognitive map changes, so will our behavior and the question then arises: what are the factors which might affect a change in this image? Under what conditions will the individual accept new messages that alter his "image" of the world?

Most of the traditional research in the field of communication testing the impact of new information on the "image" an individual holds of reality has followed the Lasswellian scheme of:

Who
Says What
In which channel
To whom
With what effect?¹⁷

Not all the myriad of messages that are sent to an individual are received by him, in the sense that they alter his "image of the world." Acceptance of a message depends upon its source, content, and the predispositions of the individual.

There is a relationship between the perceived trustworthiness of the communicator and the tendency to accept his conclusions. In cases where the audience approves of his conclusions, it tends to disassociate the source from the content.¹⁸

¹⁷Harold D. Lasswell, "The Structure and Function of Communication in Society," in Wilbur Schramm, Mass Communications (Urbana, Illinois: The University of Illinois Press, 1949), p. 102.

¹⁸Bernard Berelson and Gary A. Steiner, Human Behavior (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1964), p. 537.

Advertising research has found that in order for an "image" to be favorably received it must be clothed in the values of the group for which it is intended, for people are not always rational and tend to protect favorable self-images.¹⁹

The predisposition, or emotional "set," of an individual may be determined by his interests, cultural factors which define the social importance of an item, physiological conditions (such as hunger), or familiarity.²⁰

When a message hits an "image," one of three things can happen: (1) The image may remain unaffected; (2) the message goes straight through without altering the image; or (3) it may change the image in some way that might be described as simple addition. One may think it is five o'clock, look at his watch and know it is precisely thirty minutes after five. The world may remain fundamentally unrevised, but the time dimension becomes clearer, or the message may cause a revolutionary change. A man may think of himself as healthy until a doctor explains he has a terminal heart condition.

Images of the world are resistant to change for they consist not only of facts, but of our attitudes and feelings toward these facts. The way we rate various parts of our image of the world constitutes our value-system.

¹⁹Bardin H. Nelson, "Seven Principles in Image Formation," Journal of Marketing, Vol. 26, No. 1 (January, 1960), pp. 67-71.

²⁰Hartley and Hartley, op. cit., pp. 42-44.

The single most important element determining the effect of the message an individual will receive on his image of the world is his value scales. Boulding explains:

. . . messages which are favorable to the existing image of the world are received easily and even though they make minor modifications of the knowledge structure, there will not be any fundamental reorganization. Such messages . . . will be . . . rather simple addition . . . increasing the stability . . . the resistance to unfavorable messages.²¹

The resistance, or lack of resistance, to change of a knowledge structure depends on the potential of the message for causing stress within the individual. Psychologists refer to this characteristic of the individual to strive toward maintaining an internal equilibrium as "homeostasis."

On a psychological level . . . the individual strives to order his behavior and control his environment in such a way as to protect his picture of himself. If we have come to think of ourselves as intelligent . . . virtuous, and witty, for example, we strive by every possible means to maintain and enhance this picture.²²

Messages which threaten our most valued "images" will be avoided or distorted. One study which illustrated the distortion of unfavorable messages consisted of showing cartoons ridiculing bigoted attitudes to respondents who were themselves prejudiced. Approximately two-thirds of the sample group misunderstood the message of the cartoons. The conclusion of the investigators was that, to the subjects

²¹Boulding, op. cit., p. 13.

²²Floyd L. Ruch, Psychology and Life (Chicago: Scott, Foreman and Co., 1963), p. 63.

who felt threatened by the elements of ridicule which surrounded the cartoon character, the distortion of the message served the purpose of "saving face" for the individual.²³

Images, then, are not received on a tabula rasa; they are subjected to selection, translation, misinterpretation and distortion in accordance with the predisposition of the individual. Thus, all messages are filtered through a potentially changeable value-system.

The human organism is capable of communicating his image of the world. We can communicate the pictures in our heads to others. But this cannot be accomplished until they are transformed into spoken or written words. Once coded and transmitted, the message is outside the control of the sender, and what it does is beyond the power of the sender to change. The message may be distorted and the "picture" in the head of the receiver may bear little resemblance to that in the head of the sender.

Accurate and effective communication is essential for the cohesion of society, for it is the shared images of each other and of reality that form the basis of group living. Society, at its base, is a mental phenomenon. To quote Charles Horton Cooley:

Society, then in its immediate aspect, is a relation among personal ideas. In order to have a society it is evidently necessary that persons should get together somewhere; and they get together only as personal ideas

²³Hartley and Hartley, op. cit., pp. 56-61.

in the mind. Where else? What other possible locus can be assigned for the real contacts of persons, or in what other form can they come in contact except as impressions or ideas? . . . I do not see how any one can hold that we know persons directly except as imaginative ideas in the mind. I conclude, therefore, that the imaginations which people have of one another are the solid facts of society, and that to observe and interpret these must be a chief aim of sociology.²⁴

Therefore, we cannot have an adequate theory of human behavior until we understand the growth and transmission of images in society.

Purposes of the Study

The purposes of the study are: (1) to determine the projected image of John F. Kennedy in the mass media by a content analysis of all articles written about him in seven major magazines during the period 1960-1967; (2) to measure the held-image of John F. Kennedy by a sample of college students and compare this with the projected image in the mass media; and (3) to determine how this held-image is affected by the following socio-economic variables: sex, race, religion, frequency of church attendance, age, residence, parent's occupation and income, region, membership in fraternities or sororities, extent of self-support, political group identification and political ideology.

²⁴Charles H. Cooley, Human Nature and the Social Order (rev. ed.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), pp. 121-22.

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH DESIGN

This study had two foci: a content analysis of the projected image of John F. Kennedy in seven major magazines, and measurement of the held-image by a sample of college students. The study was guided by three working hypotheses:

1. The image of John F. Kennedy, as projected by the mass media, did have an impact on the held-image of college students.
2. The held-image of John F. Kennedy did have an impact on the social attitudes and social actions of college students.
3. The held-image of John F. Kennedy by college students was affected by the socio-economic background of the respondent.

Content Analysis

The first focus of this study presents a content analysis of the nature of the image of John F. Kennedy as reflected by selected general magazines. It is based on the assumption that these magazines constitute an important environmental influence on the reader's image of President Kennedy. The manner in which Kennedy is portrayed in these magazines is assumed to influence the public attitude toward him.

Berelson defines content analysis as a "research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication."¹ He indicates that there are three assumptions which are implicit in the use of content analysis as a procedure. These are: (1) that inferences between intent and content or between content and effect can validly be made; (2) that it is meaningful to study the manifest content; and (3) that quantitative analysis of communication content is meaningful.²

He also specifies four rules with regard to the use of content analysis. These are that it be limited to overt content of the communication and not directly in terms either of the latent intentions or latent responses; that the categories be precisely defined and replicable; that all relevant content be analyzed for all relevant categories; and that the analysis be quantifiable, implying numerical values.³

Janis offers a definition which takes into account the subjective element often implicit in content analysis.⁴ He defines content analysis as any technique for the classification of sign vehicles based upon judgments made under

¹Bernard Berelson, Content Analysis (Glencoe, Calif.: The Free Press, 1952), p. 18.

²Ibid., pp. 18-20.

³Ibid., pp. 16-17.

⁴Irving L. Janis, "Meaning and the Study of Symbolic Behavior," Psychiatry, Vol. 6 (November 1, 1943), pp. 425-39.

explicitly formulated rules by a scientific observer. In his definition, Janis recognizes some of the difficulties involved in the necessity of frequently having to rely on categories that are somewhat subjective. He recognizes this in his choice of the term "judgments" to describe the classificatory scheme and also in his definition of said judgments as covering the range "from perceptual discrimination to sheer guesses." He also recognizes the possible necessity, due to limitations of cost and time, of having the judgments made by a single analyst rather than a group of analysts, even though this may result in a reduction in reliability. In such a case, the techniques utilized should be elaborated in such detail as to facilitate replication studies.

Goode and Hatt note that all of the content need not be analyzed when they point out that with a set of clear coding operations and a sampling plan which is adequate, a number of facts can be demonstrated which do not rely solely on the researcher's insight or attitudes, but can be tested by any trained social scientist as well.⁵

Selltiz, et al., criticize those who utilize content analysis as a research technique for being overly concerned with procedure and subsequently deemphasizing results.⁶ In

⁵William J. Goode and Paul K. Hatt, Methods in Social Research (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1952), p. 327.

⁶Claire Selltiz, Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch, and Stuart W. Cook, Research Methods in Social Relations (2nd edition revised; New York: Henry Holt and Co., Inc., 1959), pp. 336-37.

addition to denying the assumption that the data for content analysis must be quantifiable,⁷ they are conscious of the influence of subjective judgments upon the analysis and distinguish the ideal content analysis from the feasible study when they remark:

Ideally, our methods of analysis and quantification should be so clearly defined that different judges would arrive at exactly the same results when analyzing the same material. Perfect reliability, however, is something that can be achieved at the present time only when the more superficial kinds of analysis are made, such as counting the number of times a particular word turns up in a given amount of material. As soon as some degree of interpretation enters the analysis, judges tend to differ to some extent in their results.⁸

While recognizing this reduction in reliability, they also suggest three controls which are useful in attempting to render content analysis more systematic and objective. These are: (1) precise definition of categories; (2) methodical classification of all content analysis in the sample; and (3) a quantitative measure to indicate the significance of the results and also serve as a comparative measure.⁹

Briefly, then, we can see that content analysis may be used on a sample as well as on the universe, and that it is especially useful for analysis of mass media, including scholarly journals, for one of the fundamental assumptions

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid., p. 341.

⁹Ibid., p. 336.

of sociology is that there is an orderliness within social phenomena. Utilizing content analysis, such materials can be treated as observations and their underlying order, if any, demonstrated. To meet the standards of good analysis, the categories should be precisely defined, all the material in the sample (or universe) should be classified into all the appropriate categories, and, preferably, it should be quantifiable.

This method, however, even if followed precisely will lead to doubts and uncertainty with regard to reliability. To increase reliability there are some procedures which may be employed, such as increasing the number of judges, more intensive training of the analysts, as well as more detailed rules regarding the manner of classification.¹⁰ Unfortunately, the fact remains that although we can take steps to increase reliability, we can never have certain reliability when working with content analyses.¹¹ Content analysis, like other research methods, possesses validity when it measures what it claims to measure. In this particular research

¹⁰Abraham Kaplan and Joseph Goldsen, "The Reliability of Content Analysis Categories," in Language of Politics by Harold D. Lasswell, Nathan Leites, and Associates (New York: George W. Stewart Publishers, Inc., 1949), p. 96.

¹¹There have been a number of articles dealing with the reliability of content analyses. See especially those of William C. Schutz, "On Categorizing Qualitative Data in Content Analysis," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 22 (1958), pp. 503-15; "Reliability of Content Analysis: The Case of Nominal Scale Coding," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 19 (1955), pp. 321-25; and "Reliability, Ambiguity, and Content Analysis," Psychological Review, Vol. 59 (1952), pp. 119-29.

measuring validity were used: logical validation, jury opinion, known groups and split-time evaluation.

In order to obtain a detailed and reliable picture of the image of John F. Kennedy, as presented by the mass media, it was necessary to select a group of magazines representative enough to be trustworthy, yet small enough in number to lend themselves to thorough examination. Therefore, in the selection of those magazines the following criteria were used:

1. The magazine must have been published either weekly, biweekly or monthly in the United States.
2. The magazine must be directed towards the general public rather than a particular professional, ethnic, racial, technical, trade, business or religious group.
3. The magazine must have been classified as a consumer magazine of general editorial content by N. W. Ayer and Sons, Inc. Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals and must have been indexed by Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature during 1960-67.
4. The magazine must have reached at some time during the period 1960-67 a circulation of 50,000 or over as determined by N. W. Ayer and Sons, Inc. Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals.
5. The magazine must not be distributed as part of a newspaper.

In determining the direction (favorable-unfavorable-balanced) of the article, the unit of analysis was the article as a whole. According to Bernard Berelson, "large units ordinarily provide as valid analysis of direction . . . as small units."¹² In determining the direction of the article,

¹²Berelson, op. cit., p. 18.

the data were classified on a three unit scale: "favorable," "unfavorable," and "balanced." The classification "balanced" included those articles without direction or those in which the favorable and unfavorable remarks seemed to be balanced. A much more detailed scale could have been used, but it would have involved a more subjective judgment on the part of the reader. How the material was presented as well as what was presented was considered in determining the direction of the article.

After the article had been identified as meeting the requirements for the study, the following steps were used in determining the direction.

1. The article was read in its entirety.
2. The direction was recorded.
3. The article was read without a time lapse, taking notes and extracting statements, phrases or words describing John F. Kennedy.
4. The direction was recorded again.
5. If the two directions coincided, the process was complete.
6. If the two directions did not coincide, the process was repeated in that the article was immediately read and then, with the data available, the direction was determined.

In most cases, the two directions coincided and it was not necessary to read the article a third time. The majority of the articles were written from a clearly identifiable point of view. In this connection, Michael V. Belok at Arizona State University states:

Usually these attitudes are sharply delineated in the mass media because of the nature of the media. Space and time often preclude the possibility of subtle presentations of attitudes, and therefore, they are focused upon one or two salient aspects which are readily recognizable to most people.¹³

As mentioned earlier, four checks on the validity of this procedure were utilized.

1. Logical validation.

The results of the content analysis in this study were consonant with what this researcher had learned from reading historical and biographical material about the life and administration of John F. Kennedy. An attempt was made to read every major book written about President Kennedy. The following represents only a partial listing of those books: The Making of the President: 1960 by Theodore H. White, J.F.K.: The Man and the Myth by Victor Lasky, Kennedy by Theodore C. Sorensen, A Thousand Days by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Death of a President by William Manchester, With Kennedy by Pierre Salinger, and My Twelve Years with J.F.K. by Evelyn Lincoln.

2. Jury opinion.

A graduate student at Florida State University read a sampling of the articles and compared his judgments with those of the researcher. There was a ten per cent disagreement, chiefly in the "balanced" category. This investigator was inclined to give more weight to pictures accompanying the text in determining favorability than the second evaluator.

3. Known groups.

As an example of this type "check," the National Review and its editor, William F. Buckley, are noted for their conservative philosophy and opposition to the New Frontier. The content analysis of this study supported that reputation.

4. Split-time.

The researcher re-read a sampling of the articles after a time lapse of several months and shifted his original judgments only one per cent. Like all skills, the ability to judge an article tends to improve with experience. Changes in opinion tended to be in articles evaluated early in the study.

¹³Michael V. Belok, "Social Attitudes Toward the Professor in Novels," The Journal of Educational Sociology, Vol. 34 (May, 1961), p. 91.

The Research Instrument

For this particular aspect of this research effort, a questionnaire was devised. Part I of the questionnaire was designed to ascertain the social background of the respondent. As political consensus and cleavage tends to follow three major divisions--i.e., (1) occupation, income status; (2) religious, racial, ethnic, and (3) regional and rural-ruban--the questions presented to the students attempted to measure these variables in order to provide a basis for comparison with respect to the held-image of John F. Kennedy.

The second part of the questionnaire sought to determine the source of news and information utilized by college students, to designate the events which were most important in the formation of the held-image of President Kennedy, and to measure the role of the family in the image formation process.

From the analysis of general magazines, fifteen adjectives were chosen as representative of the adjectives used to describe John F. Kennedy and presented to the respondents in Part III. The list included both favorable and unfavorable assessments of John Kennedy, and the student was to indicate his agreement or disagreement with these concepts as adequate in their description of Kennedy.

The final section was designed to ascertain what impact, if any, John F. Kennedy had on today's youth. Among the variables measured were: interest in the life and administration of Kennedy by students, response to his impact on

the issues of civil rights and a Catholic President, evaluation of his effect on student's attitudes toward the office of the President, and evaluation of politics as a profession. Students were able to indicate their assessment of Kennedy by comparing him with three groups: (1) all other Presidents in American history, (2) contemporary political figures, and (3) our most recent Presidents. Finally, students were asked what (if any) social actions they had undertaken as a result of the influence of John Kennedy on their lives.

Reliability of the instrument was assessed by administration of the questionnaire to a sample of college students at Louisiana State University in a pilot study. Based on the results of this preliminary investigation, modification was necessary for only a few questions. Validity was determined by face validity, and comparison of the results of this study with the results of all the national Gallup polls taken on Kennedy during his administration. A copy of the questionnaire may be found in the Appendix.

Field Research

The second focus of the study was concerned with measuring the held-image of John F. Kennedy of a sample of college students. The sampling frame was drawn from students at two Florida Universities--Florida State University and Florida A & M University (a predominately Negro University). These schools represent predominately white and Negro state institutions.

The field aspect of this study was accomplished in the fall of 1968, beginning in September and ending in early November of the same year. The total sample participating in this study consisted of 360 upper-division students enrolled at the two universities. A "purposive sampling procedure" was utilized in order that the sample selection would be pertinent to the purpose of the study,¹⁴ i.e., to measure the relationship between the projected image of John F. Kennedy (independent variable), and the impact of the held-image of John F. Kennedy on college youth (dependent variable).

This particular sample was chosen for several other reasons: (1) the feeling that upper-division students, being older, would remember President Kennedy more vividly and thus be a better test group; (2) a desire to compare the attitudes and responses of Negro students vis-a-vis white students of the same region and educational attainment; and (3) the practical consideration of convenience for data gathering.

Florida State University

The Florida State students were selected by simple random method. A list containing the names and addresses of the 7,144 juniors and seniors enrolled at Florida State was

¹⁴Investigators may use purposive sampling procedures in seeking to "test" hypotheses concerned only with the association between independent and dependent variables. For example, one community may be selected purposively due to its reported high incidence of crime. The investigator may wish to demonstrate in that community that his hypothesis pertaining to different types of gangs for different types of criminal activity is plausible. (Tony Tripodi, Phillip Fellin, and Henry J. Meyer, The Assessment of Social Research, Itasca, Ill.: F. E. Peacock, Pub., 1969), p. 38.

made available through the cooperation of the Office of the Registrar. A random sample of 300 was drawn. The first 191 were handed out personally to the student with a self-addressed return envelope. It was hoped that by going to the student's residence and personally explaining the aim of the study, a higher return would result. This expectation did not materialize. Of the 191 questionnaires distributed in this manner, sixty-eight (35.6%) were returned. The remaining 109 were mailed and a week later a follow-up card was sent. This procedure resulted in a return of forty-seven questionnaires (43.1%). A telephone survey was made to determine reasons why questionnaires were not returned. The most frequent replies included "procrastination," "just didn't get around to it," "questionnaire too long," and "questions too personal." Finally, four classes were chosen at random from all classes listed in the current quarter and one hundred additional questionnaires were obtained. Thus, a total of four hundred questionnaires were sent out and two hundred and fifteen returned (53.7%). The one hundred questionnaires obtained randomly from the classes were kept separate and compared on a Chi-square program with those received in the mail. No significant differences were found in the socio-economic characteristics of the intra-sample. Table 1 illustrates the relationship between method of disbursement and return rate.

TABLE 1
PERCENTAGE OF QUESTIONNAIRES RETURNED AT FLORIDA
STATE UNIVERSITY BY METHOD OF DISBURSEMENT

Method of Disbursement	Number Distributed	Number Returned	Per cent
Handed-out	191	68	35.6
Mailed	109	47	43.1
Classes	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100.0</u>
Total	400	215	53.7

Florida A & M

Respondents from Florida A & M University were selected by a proportionate random sample. This decision was prompted, in part, by the political climate in Florida. This investigator was informed by members of the Florida A & M faculty that it might prove difficult for a white investigator to get much cooperation from Negro students in an unstructured situation. It was their judgment that possible suspicions might be lessened if the investigator were introduced by a member of the Florida A & M faculty prior to distribution of the questionnaires.

Dividing the strata into categories by college would insure that each individual would appear in only one stratum. Classes were selected at random from all junior and senior classes within the stratum. One hundred and forty-five questionnaires were obtained representing the following disciplines: sociology (57), psychology (27), education (20),

music (15), agriculture (17), and home economics (9).

Pharmacy and nursing were reluctant to give up a class session, and industrial technology included many courses of a vocational nature with classes a mixture of college and non-college students. A comparison of the obtained sample with the total universe (at Florida A & M) is presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2
QUESTIONNAIRES OBTAINED AT FLORIDA A & M,
BY COLLEGE

College	Junior-Senior Enrollment	Per cent of Total Enrollment	Questionnaires Obtained	Per cent of Total Sample
Agriculture & Home Economics	135	7.9	26	17.9
Arts & Sciences	1043	61.6	99	68.2
Education	339	20.0	20	13.7
Pharmacy	67	3.9	0	0.0
Nursing	63	3.7	0	0.0
Technology	<u>45</u>	<u>2.6</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0.0</u>
Total	1692	99.7	145	99.8

NOTE: Figures do not add up to 100 per cent due to rounding.

CHAPTER III

A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE IMAGE OF JOHN F. KENNEDY IN GENERAL MAGAZINES, 1960-1967

The sources and tabular analysis of the 697 articles which were analyzed for this study are presented in this chapter. The circulations of the magazines, as determined by the N. W. Ayer and Son's Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals, are presented in Table 3. The Reader's Digest had the widest circulation of all magazines included in the sample, having over twice the readership of Look, its closest competitor, and 168 times as many subscribers as the magazine with the smallest readership--the National Review. The total readership of the eight magazines selected was 45,812,073 for the year 1967.

The distribution of articles by magazines and by perceived direction is presented in Table 4. The total number of favorable articles (as determined by the previously discussed approach) is 448 (64.3%), unfavorable 109 (15.6%), and balanced 140 (20%). In absolute numbers, the magazine which presented the most articles about John F. Kennedy was U.S. News and World Report--247 or 35.4 per cent of the grand total. This magazine also had the largest number of favorable articles

TABLE 3

TOTAL CIRCULATION OF MAGAZINES INCLUDED IN
CONTENT ANALYSIS (1967)

Reader's Digest	16,858,661
Look	7,671,328
Life	7,449,865
The Saturday Evening Post	6,858,305
Time	3,472,853
Newsweek	1,934,810
U.S. News and World Report.	1,473,123
National Review	93,128
Total	45,812,073

NOTE: These figures do not include international editions.

TABLE 4

DISTRIBUTION OF ARTICLES BY MAGAZINE AND BY DIRECTION

Magazine	Favorable		Balanced		Unfavorable		Total	Per Cent
	Num-ber	Per Cent	Num-ber	Per Cent	Num-ber	Per Cent		
U.S. News	171	69.2	31	12.6	45	18.2	247	35.4
Newsweek	106	70.7	42	28.0	2	1.2	150	21.5
Time	67	56.3	47	39.5	5	4.2	119	17.0
Life	38	67.9	10	17.9	8	14.2	56	8.0
Look	35	76.1	6	13.0	5	10.9	46	6.6
National Review	0	0.0	2	4.9	39	95.3	41	5.9
Sat. Eve. Post	25	80.6	2	6.5	4	12.9	31	4.4
Reader's Digest	6	85.7	0	0.0	1	14.3	7	1.0
Total	448	64.3	140	20.0	109	15.6	697	

(171 or 69.2 per cent). While U.S. News also had the largest number of unfavorable articles concerning President Kennedy (N=45), the magazine with the largest percentage of its articles unfavorable to the President was the politically conservative publication National Review--of forty-one articles specifically concerning John F. Kennedy, thirty-nine (95.3%) were unfavorable. In the seven year period considered (1960-1967), the National Review never wrote a single favorable article about Mr. Kennedy, including the assassination obituary. The magazine with the largest circulation, the Reader's Digest, had the least number of articles about Mr. Kennedy--seven--but six of these articles were evaluated as favorable.¹ In both number and percentage of its total articles, Time magazine led all others in the balanced category.

The number of Kennedy articles by year and by magazine is presented in Table 4. In 1963, the greatest number of articles appeared--170 or 24.4 per cent of the total for the 1960-67 period. This figure reflects the exhaustive coverage of the assassination and subsequent funeral. The death of President Kennedy was perhaps the most widely dissiminated news event in the history of mankind. (See Appendix A.) After the assassination, and the removal of President Kennedy from the political scene, the number of articles

¹It might be interesting to note that the one unfavorable article about Mr. Kennedy to appear in this magazine was written by Richard M. Nixon.

TABLE 5
NUMBER OF ARTICLES ON JOHN F. KENNEDY BY YEAR
BY MAGAZINE (1960-1967)

Magazine	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	Total
U.S. News	37	55	54	82	7	6	2	4	247
Newsweek	37	30	19	31	8	8	5	12	150
Time	34	24	18	17	7	6	4	9	119
Life	12	13	9	10	7	3	1	1	56
Look	3	3	5	8	16	5	1	5	46
National Review	6	12	10	13	0	0	0	0	41
Sat. Eve. Post	5	9	4	7	6	0	0	0	31
Reader's Digest	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>7</u>
Total	134	149	120	170	52	28	13	31	697

concerning him declined each year, reaching a low in 1966--only thirteen or 1.9 per cent of the sample articles were written in that year. A resurgence of articles about Mr. Kennedy appeared in 1967 when the district attorney of New Orleans, Louisiana, Jim Garrison, announced he had uncovered a conspiracy in the death of the President.¹

The distribution of articles by magazine, by direction and by subject are presented in Table 6. The subject receiving the greatest attention in the seven year period dealt with articles concerning the personal characteristics

¹The defendant in the case, Clay Shaw, was acquitted in 1969.

TABLE 6

DISTRIBUTION OF ARTICLES BY MAGAZINE, BY DIRECTION,
AND BY SUBJECT

	Pres. Ability			Assass- ination			Personal Charac- teris- tics			Foreign Policy			Cam- paign 1960			Family			Domestic Policy			Total		
	F	B	U	F	B	U	F	B	U	F	B	U	F	B	U	F	B	U	F	B	U	F	B	U
Reader's Digest	1	0	1	2	0	0	3	0	0													6	0	1
Sat. Eve. Post	3	0	1	4	2	0	14	0	0	1	0	1	3	0	0				0	0	2	25	2	4
Life	1	0	1	5	4	0	13	1	0	8	1	2	3	2	3	8	0	0	0	2	2	38	10	8
Look	12	1	4	7	5	1	9	0	0							7	0	0				35	6	5
National Review	0	2	19							0	0	15							0	0	5	0	2	39
Newsweek	19	4	0	17	13	0	25	8	2	13	2	0	22	12	0	3	0	0	7	3	0	106	42	2
U.S. News	14	6	8	22	0	1	39	8	11	47	33	11	19	7	0	3	0	0	27	7	14	171	31	45
Time	14	8	1	4	13	0	20	8	3	5	4	0	10	8	1	4	1	0	10	4	0	67	47	5
Total	64	21	35	61	37	2	123	25	16	74	10	29	57	30	4	25	11	0	44	16	23	448		

140

109=697

of the President. There were 164 articles on this subject, or 23.5 per cent of the total. Seventy-five per cent of these articles were judged to be favorable. The Kennedy family was the subject receiving the largest percentage of favorable articles--ninety-five per cent were favorable, perhaps reflecting the respect in the American culture for the family as a social institution. Not a single article in the seven year period which was focused directly on the family was judged unfavorable.

The subject upon which John F. Kennedy received the greatest percentage of unfavorable articles concerned his ability as a President--twenty-nine per cent of the 120 articles in this area were judged unfavorable. When his record in foreign policy was compared with his performance on domestic issues, foreign policy had sixty-five per cent of the 164 articles favorable, running ahead of his handling of domestic issues where only fifty-three per cent of the eighty-three articles were so judged.

The significance of this analysis for the overall research project included the following:

1. It was established that a generally favorable image of John F. Kennedy was projected by the mass media.
2. Favorable or unfavorable treatment of the life and administration of John F. Kennedy varied with the aspect of the image covered.
3. Magazines with a conservative political philosophy were more likely to present articles unfavorable to Mr. Kennedy.

4. Favorable or unfavorable treatment of aspects of the Kennedy image were related to the values of the wider socio-political structure.

Summary

The image projected of John F. Kennedy in the major magazines of the United States during the years 1960-67 was generally favorable, the number of favorable articles being four times that of unfavorable ones. In absolute numbers, the magazine which gave Mr. Kennedy the widest coverage was U.S. News and World Report. The magazine which had the largest percentage of its articles unfavorable to the President was the National Review. In 1963, the year of his assassination, the greatest number of articles appeared concerning President Kennedy. In the content of the image, Mr. Kennedy fared best when the articles discussed his family or personal characteristics. He did poorest in articles that evaluated his ability as a President, though in this area he rated higher in foreign policy than in handling domestic issues. The significance of this analysis for the research project was the documentation of the extensive coverage of Kennedy by the mass media (specifically through news journals) and the nature of the projected image through these sources. It was of interest that this projected image be compared with the held-image of a sample of college students.

CHAPTER IV

THE COLLEGE STUDENT AND THE KENNEDY IMAGE

In this chapter, a descriptive analysis is presented of the responses to questions pertaining to (1) the influence of the mass media upon the formation of the held-image of John F. Kennedy; and (2) the impact of that held-image upon the attitudes and social actions of the students.

Analysis of Data

The questionnaire items were coded and written on code sheets. These code sheets were transferred to data processing cards by the key punch operators at the computer center at the Florida State University. A rank correlation, one way binary frequency program was run. The results are presented in this chapter.

Description of the Sample

The subjects in this study were fairly evenly distributed as to sex with fifty-six per cent male and forty-four per cent female. Most of the respondents were Protestant (74.7%), urban (85%), from the "South" (80.8%), and "independent" (78.3%) as opposed to belonging to a fraternity or sorority (20.8%). A detailed description of the 360

students with respect to thirteen socio-economic variables is presented in Table 7.

TABLE 7
GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE TOTAL SAMPLE
N=360

Variables	Category	Responses	
		No.	Per Cent
<u>Sex</u>	Male	201	55.8
	Female	159	44.1
<u>Race</u>	Caucasian	203	56.3
	Negro	152	42.2
<u>Religion</u>	Protestant	269	74.7
	Catholic	47	13.0
	None	30	8.3
	Jewish	3	.8
<u>Church Attendance</u>	Often	133	36.9
	Occasionally	119	33.0
	Seldom	82	22.7
	Never	26	7.2
<u>Reported Occupation of Parents</u>	Major Executives	14	8.0
	Middle Management	69	19.1
	White Collar	89	24.7
	Technicians	57	15.8
	Manual Workers	51	14.1

TABLE 7--Continued

Variable	Category	Responses	
		No.	Per Cent
<u>Occupation of Parents</u> (cont'd.)	Semi-skilled	50	13.8
	Domestics	15	4.1
<u>Family Income</u>	\$15,000-\$20,000	57	15.8
	\$10,000-\$15,000	83	23.0
	\$ 7,500-\$10,000	69	19.1
	\$ 5,000-\$ 7,000	66	18.3
	\$ 3,000-\$ 5,000	53	14.7
	Below \$3,000	17	4.7
<u>Age of Respondent</u>	18-19	22	6.1
	20-22	221	61.3
	23-25	21	5.8
	25+	29	8.0
<u>Residence</u>	Farm	14	3.8
	Communities: Less than 2,500	35	9.7
	Cities: 2,500-50,000	159	44.1
	Cities: 50,000+	150	41.6
<u>Region of Origin</u>	South	291	80.8
	East	22	6.1
	North	19	5.2
	Midwest	16	4.4
	Outside U.S.	6	1.6
	Farwest	3	.8

TABLE 7--Continued

Variables	Category	Responses	
		No.	Per Cent
<u>Organizational Membership</u>	Fraternity or Sorority	75	20.8
	Independent	282	78.3
<u>Extent of Self-support</u>	All	83	23.0
	Most	91	25.2
	Some	119	33.0
	None	64	17.7
<u>Identification with Political Groups</u>	Democrat	151	41.9
	Republican	64	17.7
	SDS	39	10.8
	SNCC	25	6.9
	Other	25	6.9
	Wallace	16	4.4
	John Birch	3	.3
<u>Political Ideology</u>	Liberal	247	68.6
	Conservative	103	28.6

Note: Figures do not add up to 100% due to computer rejects.

The Impact of the Mass Media

Apparently, television was the method by which most of the students in the sample became aware of John F. Kennedy. Forty-five per cent of the respondents checked television as the source of their first awareness of Kennedy. "Talking to

friends" was ranked last (5.8%). This information is summarized in Table 8.

TABLE 8
METHOD BY WHICH STUDENTS FIRST BECAME
AWARE OF JOHN F. KENNEDY

Source of Information	Responses	
	No.	Per Cent
Television	165	45.8
Magazine	52	14.4
Newspaper	44	12.2
Parents	37	10.2
Other	23	6.3
Friends	<u>21</u>	<u>5.8</u>
Total	341	94.7

Television was perceived as the "most believable" source of news (63.3%), while radio was ranked least believable of the four major sources of news (3.6%). Table 9 reveals how students ranked areas of the mass media by believability.

Some of the many reasons given for choosing a particular media as being more believable are listed below:

1. Television

- A. "On TV you can see for yourself."
- B. "On the spot coverage."
- C. "Newsmen are there when it happens; the magazines and books can be twisted."

TABLE 9

STUDENTS' EVALUATION OF THE MOST BELIEVABLE
SOURCE OF NEWS

Type of Mass Media	Responses	
	No.	Per Cent
Television	228	63.3
Magazines	56	15.5
Newspapers	40	11.1
Radio	<u>13</u>	<u>3.6</u>
Total	337	93.5

D. "Local newspapers are biased more than Huntley-Brinkley."

E. "Because so many people are subjected to video viewing the high caliber of national news shows must be maintained, mistakes can be detected."

2. Magazines

A. "By the time a magazine is published false impressions are corrected." [sic]

B. "If a magazine errors it is corrected in later issues." [sic]

C. "Truth can be told better than it can be shown."

3. Newspapers

A. "More likely to get different opinions in editorials."

B. "Harder to control the news because there are so many different papers."

C. "You can select the one you most trust. Television offers only three choices."

4. Radio

- A. "I worked for a radio station. They have no time to do anything but read what comes off the teletype. They can't mix it with personal feelings."
- B. "Because they don't elaborate on the facts, or give commentators' opinions."

Nearly two out of three respondents (63%) reacted favorably to their first exposure to Kennedy. Only five per cent indicated they were unfavorably impressed initially. The following table shows these students' reported reaction to their first exposure to President Kennedy.

TABLE 10

STUDENTS "FIRST IMPRESSION" OF JOHN F. KENNEDY

Evaluation	Responses	
	No.	Per Cent
Favorable	227	63.0
Unfavorable	21	5.8
Neutral	<u>104</u>	<u>28.8</u>
Total	352	97.6

Principle reasons for the particular reaction of some of these students are listed below:

1. Favorable evaluations

- A. "He presented an image of youth; a good dresser. . . . He seemed dignified and yet witty and very intelligent."
- B. "His programs and attitudes were appealing to youth . . . he and his family represented vitality."

- C. "Was a Catholic fighting the establishment."
- D. "His stated liberalness toward the Negro."
- E. "He seemed to be the type that could be trusted."

2. Unfavorable evaluations

- A. "He was a Catholic."
- B. "My parents felt he would set up a Papacy in Washington."
- C. "My father was employed in a defense plant, thus his job was in danger." (The Republicans had signs outside defense plants in the 1960 campaign which read: "Kennedy is after your job.")
- D. "I felt he was too young for the Presidency and discriminated against him because of his religion."

Much of the credibility given to television was due to its visual component. This is consistent with the fact that the magazine which had the greatest impact on the held-image of John F. Kennedy was Life--a magazine which utilizes a pictorial format. The magazines which students listed as having the greatest impact on their held-image of President Kennedy are ranked in Table 11.

Their perception of the presentation of President Kennedy by the mass media was in agreement with the general position as measured by the content analysis of the magazines described in a preceding chapter, i.e., a favorable image was projected. The content analysis revealed a favorable projected image with the number of favorable articles being four times that of the unfavorable one. Seventy-eight per cent of the sample perceived the projected image of John F. Kennedy in the mass media as favorable. Student responses concerning

TABLE 11
MAGAZINE HAVING THE GREATEST IMPACT ON STUDENTS'
HELD-IMAGE OF KENNEDY

Magazine	Responses	
	No.	Per Cent
Life	103	28.6
Time	78	21.6
Look	50	13.8
Newsweek	24	6.6
U.S. News	20	5.5
Reader's Digest	9	1.9
National Review	<u>0</u>	<u>0.0</u>
Total	284	78.0

their perception of the presentation of President Kennedy in the mass media are presented in Table 12.

TABLE 12
STUDENTS' PERCEPTION OF PRESENTATION
OF KENNEDY BY MASS MEDIA

Perception of Projected Image	Responses	
	No.	Per Cent
Presented Favorably	284	78.8
Unfavorably Presented	4	1.1
Balanced Presentation	51	14.1
No Opinion	<u>17</u>	<u>4.7</u>
Total	356	98.7

Further, the content analysis of major magazines according to specific areas of his image revealed that Mr. Kennedy fared best when the articles discussed his family or personal characteristics. He did poorest in articles that evaluated his handling of foreign policy and domestic issues. The students' held-image tended to parallel this finding in that they perceived his personal characteristics and style as being presented in a more favorable light than his handling of domestic and foreign policy. Table 13 summarizes which aspects of the information on Kennedy received the most favorable treatment from the student's viewpoint.

TABLE 13

AREA OF THE KENNEDY IMAGE PERCEIVED AS PRESENTED
IN MOST FAVORABLE LIGHT

Political Perception	Response	
	No.	Per Cent
Personal Characteristics	115	32.7
Style as President	100	28.4
Family	63	17.9
Handling of Domestic Policy	49	14.0
Handling of Foreign Policy	<u>24</u>	<u>6.8</u>
Total	352	95.6

The Impact of John F. Kennedy

One out of every four respondents felt that President Kennedy had a "great deal" of impact (as much or more than parents or teachers) upon them. The largest number of respondents (50.2%) replied he had "some impact"--i.e., he influenced them in a few areas. Only nine persons replied that Kennedy had "no impact upon them." The direction of this impact is seen objectively in those questions dealing with specific areas of his impact to be presented later. The degree of impact of President Kennedy on students is summarized in Table 14.

TABLE 14
THE IMPACT OF KENNEDY ON STUDENTS

Social Impact	Responses	
	No.	Per Cent
Great deal	92	25.5
Some	181	50.2
Very little	70	17.4
None	<u>9</u>	<u>2.5</u>
Total	352	95.6

A further index as to the direction of his impact is found in the answers to open-ended questions concerning this impact. In answer to the question "What factors influenced his impact on you?" representative responses were as follows:

1. Great Deal of Impact

- A. "I admired the man. He was strong, dynamic and very much alive. As much as anything, I appreciated his wit. The TV press conferences were usually a delight to watch. His speeches were usually rousing. The impact has been primarily academic by arousing curiosity in politics and history and international affairs. I felt a deep personal loss when he was assassinated."
- B. "He presented a youthful forward looking image rather than conservative."
- C. "I was very fond of Mr. Kennedy simply because he was unique. Unlike most of our presidents, he had a special charm which made the young want to know what was happening. But most of all, I think that the young took pleasure in listening to him."
- D. "He has shown me that, as a white man, not only did things for his race, but he tried to help all races."
- E. "I can't explain it. The more I knew him, the more I loved him."

2. Some Impact

- A. "After Kennedy was elected and I began to follow his life somewhat, I began to admire and respect him for his courage and vigor. I liked the way he handled his job, family and personal life."
- B. "His death was a crushing blow to the Youth of America. He was a person young people could identify with."
- C. "John F. Kennedy restored some of my faith in the American political system. He demonstrated that honesty and wealth need not be estranged."
- D. "I don't believe his career was a success or accomplished a lot. I believe that his death had political significance. I believe that the Warren report is a falsehood."

3. Very Little Impact

- A. "I was only in junior high at the time and I never gave politics or political figures much thought."

The event which apparently had the greatest impact on the held-image of John F. Kennedy was the assassiantion. The Cuban missile crisis ranked second. The confrontation with United States Steel failed to influence any of the college students. In answer to the question "Has the death of Robert Kennedy changed your opinion of John F. Kennedy?" ninety-two per cent of the sample replied "no." (Robert Kennedy had been assassinated three months prior to the beginning of this study.) The following table lists those dramatic encounters in the Kennedy administration which had the greatest influence on the held-image of the respondents.

TABLE 15
EVENT HAVING THE GREATEST INFLUENCE ON HELD-IMAGE
OF KENNEDY

Dramatic Social Encounter	Responses	
	No.	Per Cent
Assassination	136	37.7
Cuban Blockade	79	21.9
"Ole Miss"	42	11.6
Inaugural Address	18	5.0
TV Debates	11	3.0
Bay of Pigs	9	2.5
Steel Crisis	<u>0</u>	<u>0.0</u>
Total	295	81.7

Some of the reasons given for the impact of a particular event were:

1. Assassination

- A. "When he's dead and gone you miss the quality you respected all the time yet in some ways took for granted."
- B. "It elevated him to a 'Lincoln like' position--a fallen leader."
- C. "It was really the first significant 'personal death' in my life. It took me a long time to get interested in politics again. I really have a terrible sense of fear, the fear of caring too much again and being hurt."

2. Cuban Missile Crisis

- A. "He put some pride in Americans for a while."
- B. "My personal future and life was at stake."
- C. "It was about time the United States did something instead of going to the peace table all of the time and getting nothing done."
- D. "I was afraid for my life and those of my friends for the first serious time."

3. Crisis at "Ole Miss"

- A. "I know people there and their views."
- B. "I did not think a school should be forced to accept a person it previously rejected."
- C. "If 'Ole Miss' didn't want him, he shouldn't have pushed the issue."
- D. "I never like the fuss put up by people about Negroes."

4. Inaugural Address

- A. "His ideals for youth and America were important and in a way personal to the youth of a generation who needed a leader and still are looking for another to plead their cause."

- B. "The words 'Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country' will always stay with me and totally agree with my positive attitude toward living."

5. Television Debates

- A. "Seemed to be the kind of man you could trust the country to."

- B. "Because he did so well."

6. Bay of Pigs

- A. "The inefficiency of the whole affair--wondered how anyone could screw us up that bad."

- B. "The Cubans themselves have told me 'he let them down.'"

For the majority of the respondents, their parents did not have the greatest influence on their held-image of John F. Kennedy. Only twenty-one per cent of the sample listed their parents as having the major impact on their judgments of Kennedy; the remaining seventy-nine per cent either disagreed with their parents' opinion of John Kennedy or were influenced only slightly by their parents' views. Table 16 shows the degree of parental influence on the students' held-image of President Kennedy.

Most students in the sample were interested in politics. Seventy per cent of the respondents checked they were interested in politics either "quite a lot" (major political activities) or "a great deal" (follow both local and national politics). Student political interest in local and national politics is presented in Table 17.

TABLE 16

DEGREE OF PARENTAL INFLUENCE ON STUDENTS
HELD-IMAGE OF KENNEDY

Social "Inheritance" of Political Images	Responses	
	No.	Per Cent
Parents as greatest influence	76	21.1
Some impact but peers greater	69	19.1
Little or no impact	175	48.6
Disagreed with parent's judgment	<u>34</u>	<u>9.4</u>
Total	354	98.2

TABLE 17

STUDENTS' REPORTED INTEREST IN LOCAL AND
NATIONAL POLITICS

Political Interest	Responses	
	No.	Per Cent
Great deal	85	23.6
Quite a lot	171	47.5
Not much	90	25.0
None	<u>6</u>	<u>1.6</u>
Total	352	97.7

Their interest in John F. Kennedy while he was in office tended to parallel their interest in politics generally. Seventy-four per cent of the respondents were interested

in Mr. Kennedy either "quite a lot" or "a great deal." Out of the 352 students who responded to this question, only two indicated they had no interest at all in the Kennedy administration. These persons, it would seem, are "invincibly uninterestable" in politics. The following table (Table 18) reflects student interest in John F. Kennedy during his administration.

TABLE 18
INTEREST IN KENNEDY DURING HIS ADMINISTRATION

Level of Interest in Kennedy Administration	Responses	
	No.	Per Cent
Great deal	118	32.7
Quite a lot	152	42.2
Not much	80	22.2
None	<u>2</u>	<u>.5</u>
Total	352	97.6

When compared with President Johnson, a greater proportion of these students (58.4%) reported a greater interest in the life and administration of John Kennedy. The following statements are typical of those expressed on this issue:

1. Greater Interest in Kennedy

- A. "He (Johnson) is not so strikingly different as was Kennedy from the average President. Kennedy also represented the youth of the country more."

TABLE 19
LEVEL OF STUDENT INTEREST IN KENNEDY VS
JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION

Political Interest by President	Responses	
	No.	Per Cent
Greater interest in Kennedy	214	59.4
Greater interest in Johnson	92	25.5
Same	<u>48</u>	<u>13.3</u>
Total	354	98.2

B. "President Johnson does not have my respect and I really don't trust him. I feel I would compromise my values by being concerned about him."

C. "Johnson is a Texas bred unintellectual hick who is also an egomaniac as well as a liar."

2. Greater Interest in Johnson

A. "I'm older and now these things often directly relate to me and my friends, i.e., draft laws, nation aid to education, etc."

B. "Because I'm a voter now."

C. "Too young during Kennedy's administration."

3. Same Level of Interest

A. "Johnson is a dull figure but his daughters are near my age."

B. "Much less in Johnson's life but much more in his administration--so they about balance."

President Kennedy often stated he felt that politics as a profession was one of man's highest callings. He remarked on several occasions that a political career had enabled him to rise from a relatively obscure patrol boat

commander to Commander-in-Chief with little increase in technical competence. Related to this, over half of the students (50.8%) reported they felt that Kennedy had left them with a more favorable attitude toward politics as a profession. A sizeable number (N=158) reported being unaffected by the Kennedy performance, but only nine persons reacted negatively. (See Table 20.)

TABLE 20
IMPACT OF KENNEDY ON STUDENT ATTITUDE TOWARD
POLITICS AS A PROFESSION

Attitude Toward Politics	Responses	
	No.	Per Cent
Positive	183	50.8
Neutral	158	43.8
Negative	<u>9</u>	<u>2.5</u>
Total	350	97.1

Following this same line of thought, a slightly higher percentage (59.1%) felt more positively about the office of the Presidency due to Kennedy's performance in that role. His impact in this area is presented in Table 21.

On the sensitive issue of a "Catholic" President, thirty-six per cent felt it was the election and subsequent behavior of John F. Kennedy that directly changed their objection to a Catholic in the White House. This can be

TABLE 21
IMPACT OF KENNEDY ON STUDENT ATTITUDE
TOWARD THE PRESIDENCY

Attitude Toward Presidency	Responses	
	No.	Per Cent
Positive	213	59.1
Neutral	108	30.0
Negative	<u>21</u>	<u>5.8</u>
Total	342	94.9

supported by the fact that during the 1968 campaign, the issue of religion was not raised against either Senator Eugene McCarthy or Senator Robert F. Kennedy.¹ Since fifty-seven per cent of the sample replied they had "never objected to a Catholic President," it may be that they came of political age when the issue was moot. Just as Eisenhower dispelled the "Hoover-depression" image of the Republican party, John F. Kennedy apparently erased the "For Protestants Only" image of the Office of the President of the United States.

In the area of civil rights, thirty-one per cent of the respondents felt Kennedy had the greatest impact on their favorable view of the movement. However, the majority felt other influences were more powerful. Only five persons said

¹This investigator used to ask persons if they could name Senator McCarthy's religion; they invariably could not.

TABLE 22
IMPACT OF KENNEDY ON STUDENT ATTITUDE TOWARD
A CATHOLIC PRESIDENT

Political Attitudes	Responses	
	No.	Per Cent
Election of Kennedy changed my objection to a Catholic President	132	36.6
Never objected to a Catholic	206	57.2
Have always objected, Kennedy no impact	5	1.3
Because of Kennedy I now object to a Catholic President	<u>2</u>	<u>.5</u>
Total	345	95.6

Kennedy's actions turned them against civil right. Table 23 presents the impact of Kennedy in the area of student attitude toward civil rights.

TABLE 23
IMPACT OF KENNEDY ON STUDENT ATTITUDE TOWARD
CIVIL RIGHTS

Political Attitudes	Responses	
	No.	Per Cent
Kennedy most influential	112	31.1
Other influences more powerful	200	55.5
No impact	26	7.2
Kennedy's actions turned against civil rights	<u>5</u>	<u>1.3</u>
Total	343	95.1

Students were asked to rank their "most admired" contemporary political figure. The eight choices presented to them were: Senator Eugene McCarthy, Vice-President Hubert Humphrey, President Lyndon Johnson, Richard M. Nixon (the study was conducted during the second Nixon campaign for the Presidency), Governor Nelson Rockefeller, Senator Barry Goldwater, Governor George Wallace (also a Presidential aspirant), and President John F. Kennedy. The students were asked to rank their choices from one through eight. John F. Kennedy was ranked in first position by more students than all seven other political figures combined. The results are presented in the next table with the political figures ranked by their mean rank, and the number of times they were placed first.

TABLE 24

ADMIRATION OF KENNEDY AS COMPARED TO OTHER
CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL FIGURES

Political Admiration	Responses	
	No. Ranking "First"	Mean
Kennedy	243	1.57
McCarthy	34	3.56
Humphrey	8	3.83
Johnson	7	3.88
Nixon	28	4.08
Rockefeller	5	4.10
Goldwater	10	5.09
Wallace	<u>9</u>	<u>5.96</u>
Total	344	

TABLE 25

MENTAL IMAGE OF JOHN F. KENNEDY

Variable	Strongly Agree		Agree		No Opinion		Disagree		Strongly Disagree	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Young	137	38.0	195	54.1	11	3.0	7	1.9	0	0.0
Family Man	168	46.6	166	46.1	17	4.7	5	1.3	0	0.0
War Hero	102	28.3	158	43.8	68	18.8	20	5.5	1	0.2
Good Speaker	228	66.3	104	28.8	7	1.9	8	2.2	2	0.5
Soft on Communism	16	4.4	28	7.7	78	21.6	131	36.3	92	25.5
Religious	125	34.7	181	50.2	37	10.2	2	0.5	0	0.0
Friend of Negro	125	34.7	191	53.0	36	10.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Dynamic Personality	233	64.7	100	27.7	13	3.6	3	0.8	1	0.2
Witty	141	39.1	131	36.3	64	17.7	6	1.6	5	1.3
Athletic	78	21.6	162	45.0	84	23.3	20	5.5	7	1.9
Insincere	4	1.1	21	5.8	55	15.2	126	35.0	133	36.9
Cultured	169	46.9	134	37.2	28	7.7	10	2.7	6	1.6
Indecisive	7	1.9	25	6.9	72	20.0	139	38.6	98	27.2
Snobbish	5	1.3	14	3.8	71	19.7	145	40.2	104	28.8
Intelligent	252	70.0	96	26.6	4	1.1	0	0.0	0	0.0

The mental image held of Kennedy revealed the following traits to be most admired: "good speaker," "dynamic personality," and, most of all, "intelligent." The sample most strongly disagreed that he was either "insincere" or "snobbish." The greatest number of "no opinions" concerned his athletic ability, a characteristic of less importance. (One respondent questioned, "If you consider touch football athletics.") The mental image of John F. Kennedy as reported by the college sample is shown in Table 25.

On a presidential rating scale, forty-five per cent of the respondents ranked him as "great" while 31.9 per cent considered him to be "near great"--only two persons rated his performance as a failure. The following table summarizes this information.

TABLE 26

STUDENT RATING OF JOHN F. KENNEDY IN COMPARISON WITH
ALL OTHER PRESIDENTS IN AMERICAN HISTORY

Presidential Rating	Responses	
	No.	Per Cent
Great	163	45.2
Near Great	115	31.9
Average	63	17.5
Below Average	3	.8
Failure	<u>2</u>	<u>.5</u>
Total	346	95.9

When ranked against our most recent Presidents, Kennedy again outdistanced all competitors, compiling more first place votes than all other five presidential choices combined. The results are presented in the following table with the Presidents ranked according to their mean rating. Eisenhower, for example, would rank third in the number of persons rating him first, but fifth in average rating. Most of the respondents were not alive when Hoover was President.

TABLE 27
STUDENT RANKING OF KENNEDY IN RELATION TO OUR
MOST RECENT PRESIDENTS

Ranking of Presidents	Responses	
	No. Rating "First"	Mean
Kennedy	184	1.71
Roosevelt	89	2.33
Truman	13	3.21
Johnson	17	3.31
Eisenhower	28	3.35
Hoover	<u>6</u>	<u>4.20</u>
Total	337	

Forty-one per cent of the sample reported taking some social action as a direct result of the impact of John F. Kennedy. The major action taken was the buying of books about him (17%). Of the three persons who reported they changed religions due to Kennedy, one became an

agnostic. Content analysis of the "other" category (28.2%) revealed his greatest impact on those in this category was in the area of attitude formation. He appeared to generate in these persons a greater interest in politics and government. A summary of these actions taken on the basis of the impact of Kennedy are presented in Table 28.

TABLE 28
ACTIONS TAKEN ON THE BASIS OF THE IMPACT
OF JOHN F. KENNEDY

Social Action	Responses	
	No.	Per Cent
Changed religions	3	.8
Turned conservative	8	2.2
Changed college major	15	4.1
Joined a Civil Rights organization	27	7.5
Bought books on Kennedy	61	17.0
None	89	24.8
Other	101	28.2

Summary

Television was the primary source of information by which the student sample first became aware of John F. Kennedy, and was also perceived as the most believable source of news. One of the chief reasons given for this confidence in television was the visual component, i.e., the individual is able to evaluate news by the "on the spot"

coverage. Similarly, the magazine which was listed as having the greatest impact on the held-image of John F. Kennedy, Life, utilizes a pictorial format.

John F. Kennedy was perceived by the respondents as having been favorably presented by the mass media. Areas of his image perceived as presented in the "most favorable" light were his personal characteristics and his style as President. These results parallel the findings of the content analysis of the projected image of him in major magazines.

One out of four students who responded felt President Kennedy had as much impact upon them as their parents or teachers. Over half the sample indicated that he had influenced them in a few areas.

Of the events which were important in the image-formation process, the one with the greatest impact was the assassination. This event made manifest a latent prior attachment to the President. Mr. Kennedy had come to serve as a role-model in sociological terms, or ego-ideal in psychological jargon, for these students, and his loss was painful. Due to the age of the respondents in 1963 (average age of respondents at the time of Kennedy's death was seventeen), it was the first time many had had to face the reality of death in a personal way. The result was, for many, to elevate Kennedy to a "Lincoln-like" position--a fallen leader.

The Cuban missile crisis ranked second as the event

most affecting the student image of John Kennedy. Again, there was an indication of the personal involvement of the individual in the confrontation. Geographically, Florida is the state closest to Cuba. A number of students expressed feelings that their individual lives were at stake during this crisis.

One out of five students felt their parents had the greatest impact on their view of Kennedy. The remaining seventy-nine per cent either disagreed with their parents or were only slightly influenced by their parent's views.

The student sample was generally interested in politics, only six persons had no interest in political affairs. The students showed a high level of interest in the Kennedy administration (seventy-five per cent checked they had at least "quite a lot" of interest in his administration). They expressed more interest in President Kennedy and his administration than in President Johnson and his tenure. The greater interest in Kennedy centered around their identification with his youth. Many students expressed they "trusted" him more. Johnson was viewed as a "dull" figure of doubtful honesty by a number of respondents. Those who showed a greater interest in Johnson did so because they were affected personally by events in his administration (e.g. draft laws) and the increase in interest and awareness that comes with maturity, rather than any personal admiration for the man.

President Kennedy left the students with a more positive attitude toward politics as a profession, and the

Presidency as an office. One of the major accomplishments of the election of John Kennedy was to change the prejudice against a Catholic President. Only seven persons, of the 345 respondents, said they would object to a Catholic in the White House.

In the area of civil rights, nearly one-third of the students credited President Kennedy with giving them a favorable view of the movement.

John F. Kennedy was, by far, the most admired political figure for these college students. He received more first place "votes" than all seven other contemporary political figures combined. The traits the students admired most in him were: "good speaker," "dynamic personality," and most of all, his intelligence.

Similarly, the sample ranked Kennedy ahead of the five Presidents who preceded him in that office. Seventy-six per cent rated him as either a "Great" or "Near Great" President.

Apparently, the greatest impact that John F. Kennedy had on these students was in the area of attitude formation. He generated an interest in these American youths in politics, history and world affairs.

The impact of President Kennedy on this generation of college students was primarily due to: (1) his charismatic qualities, and (2) events in his administration with which

the respondents personally identified. His influence runs the political gamut from civil rights to the issue of a Catholic President. Of all the political figures posed to the students, John F. Kennedy was a "landslide" favorite.

CHAPTER V

THE KENNEDY IMAGE AS AFFECTED BY SOCIAL GROUPINGS

Fourteen hypotheses were tested in order to determine how perception and evaluation varied by group membership. In order to test whether a relationship existed between the socio-economic characteristics of the respondent, and his favorable or unfavorable impression of John Kennedy, it was necessary to construct a "John F. Kennedy Rating Score."

The John F. Kennedy Rating Scale

A "favorable" score for each member of the sample was computed. This was accomplished by inspecting each item where a response could be termed as indicative of either a favorable or unfavorable impression of Kennedy. These items were questions 17, 20, 21, 24, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, and the check list in Part III of the questionnaire. Each response was assigned a value ranging from one to eight, with the higher total score being indicative of a more favorable impression. The range of possible scores was from forty to 140. The result was to create an interval scale with which to analyze the data. From these scores, the means of each social group were determined. These group means were then compared for

significant differences by use of the student's "t-test." The results of the analysis are presented in this chapter.

In order to determine which elements of the Kennedy image were most important in determining the group's score, a Chi-square test was computed, comparing the first thirteen variables (i.e., the socio-economic characteristics) with the remaining seventy-six items. Tables showing which items proved to be statistically significant may be found in the Appendix.

The Kennedy Image by Social Group

Fourteen hypotheses were postulated suggesting relationships to be investigated regarding the held-image of John F. Kennedy. These hypotheses are all stated in the null form. The material is presented as follows: the hypothesis is stated, a table depicting the strength and direction of the relationship is presented, and a description of the table is presented accompanied by an interpretation of the results. The particular elements of the Kennedy image which contributed significantly to a favorable or unfavorable evaluation form the basis of the discussion.

Hypothesis 1. No significant difference exists between Male and Female evaluation of John F. Kennedy.

Rejected at .01 level of significance.

TABLE 29

MEAN, STANDARD DEVIATION, AND t-VALUE OF SCORE
ON EVALUATION OF JOHN F. KENNEDY BY SEX

Sex	Sample Size	Mean	Standard Deviation	t-Value
Male	201	89.95	8.09	-3.359
Female	159	93.19	10.21	

The data in Table 29 indicate that females tend to rate John F. Kennedy higher than do males. It should be kept in mind that the possible range of scores is from forty to 140. The mean score of the entire sample was 91.38, with a range from a low of sixty-seven to a high of 136. Thus, the male score, while significantly lower than that of females, is not necessarily a "low" or unfavorable score, but the female's mean score was still significantly higher.

When contrasted with males, females were more affected by three events in the life of John F. Kennedy: the debates with Richard Nixon, his inaugural address and the assassination. They were more likely than males to check "no opinion" to the charge that Kennedy was "soft on communism" and perceived the Kennedy family to have been presented in a more favorable light in the mass media than did males. They ranked Kennedy a "great" President to a greater extent than did males. However, when rating their "most admired" contemporary political figure, females ranked Lyndon Johnson higher than did males.

Men differed from women, in that they were more interested in politics in general. They were more interested in the Kennedy administration than in the Johnson reign, but their interest in presidential politics continued with Johnson to a greater extent than with females. Males felt magazines to be the "most believable source of news and information" to a greater extent than did females. They were more likely to read Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News regularly.

Three events affected the male's response to John F. Kennedy more than it did the female's: the Bay of Pigs, the Cuban missile crisis, and the integration of the University of Mississippi. In the area of political preference, Governor Wallace and Senator Goldwater were ranked significantly higher by males than females, though both received generally low ratings.

Perception is related to the needs and interests of the individual. Thus, it is not surprising that females would show more interest in the family area of the Kennedy image. Similarly, it is an expectation, in this culture, that males will participate in politics to a greater extent than females. The male's interest in politics is related to his expectation of his future role in society. While normally there are few governmental policies that do not affect males and females alike, one which affects the male more is the draft. This, coupled with the male's greater interest in politics, may account for the male interest in the Kennedy administration's foreign policy decisions which would reflect on the

possibility of war (e.g., Bay of Pigs and Cuban missile crisis). The magazines listed by males as read regularly (i.e., Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News) are primarily news magazines and would meet the need of a young male for surveillance of his environment.

Hypothesis 2. No significant difference exists between races in their evaluation of John F. Kennedy.

Rejected at .01 level of significance.

TABLE 30

MEAN, STANDARD DEVIATION AND t-VALUE OF SCORE ON
EVALUATION OF JOHN F. KENNEDY BY RACE

Race	Sample Size	Mean	Standard Deviation	t-Value
Negro	152	94.61	8.78	6.654
White	203	88.54	8.27	

Table 30 indicates that Negroes rated John F. Kennedy significantly higher than whites. The events in the Kennedy administration which affected Negroes to a greater degree than whites were the inaugural address, "Ole Miss," and the assassination. Their mental image of Kennedy included a stronger agreement that he was a "friend of the Negro," and "intelligent" than that expressed by whites. Negroes showed a greater interest in the life and administration of John F. Kennedy than did whites, and were more affected by Kennedy on the political issues of civil rights and

a Catholic for President than whites. Kennedy was rated a "great" President by more Negroes than whites. Other contemporary politicians rated significantly higher by Negroes were Lyndon Johnson, Hubert Humphrey and Nelson Rockefeller.

Whites, in their evaluation of Kennedy, were affected more by the Bay of Pigs and the Cuban missile crisis than were Negroes. Whites were more impressed by the "Kennedy wit" and his advocacy of "keeping fit" than were Negroes. While whites were more interested in the life and administration of John Kennedy than in Lyndon Johnson, they maintained a greater interest in the Johnson administration than did Negroes. More whites than Negroes felt Kennedy to be "indecisive." Politicians who got a significantly higher rating from whites, than from Negroes, were Nixon, Goldwater, Wallace, McCarthy, and Presidents Hoover, Roosevelt, Truman and Eisenhower. Finally, whites were more likely than Negroes to "buy books about Kennedy" as a result of his influence upon them.

Hypothesis 3. No significant difference exists between students from low-income families and those from high-income families on their evaluation of John F. Kennedy.

Rejected at the .01 level.

The data in Table 31 indicate that students from low-income families tended to rate John F. Kennedy higher than did those students whose parents are in an upper-income

TABLE 31
MEAN, STANDARD DEVIATION, AND t-VALUE OF SCORE
ON EVALUATION OF JOHN F. KENNEDY BY
PARENT'S INCOME

Parent's Income	Sample Size	Mean	Standard Deviation	t-Value
0-\$5,000	70	94.95	8.45	3.543
\$10,000- 20,000	139	90.34	9.08	

bracket. There is an inverse relationship between parent's income and the impact of John F. Kennedy. As you go down the income scale, the impact of Kennedy arises. Students from families with low-incomes were affected more than middle or high-income groups by Kennedy's inaugural address. They also rated Kennedy as a "friend of the Negro"¹ and showed a greater interest in the life and administration of John Kennedy than did other income groups. Students from low-income backgrounds checked Kennedy as a "great" President to a greater degree than did other income categories. Contemporary politicians rated significantly higher by students from low-income families were Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey. Also, low-income background was associated with reduced bias against a Catholic for President.

High-income background had its greatest impact in the choice of favorite contemporary politicians. Those receiving

¹Seventy-nine per cent of the students from low-income backgrounds were Negroes.

a more favorable rating from the higher-income groups were Richard Nixon, Barry Goldwater and former President Herbert Hoover.

Hypothesis 4a. No significant difference exists between students separated by parent's occupation in their evaluation of John F. Kennedy.

Rejected at the .01 level.

TABLE 32

MEAN, STANDARD DEVIATION, AND t-VALUE OF SCORE ON
EVALUATION TOWARD JOHN F. KENNEDY BY
"PARENT'S OCCUPATION"

Parent's Occupation	Sample Size	Mean	Standard Deviation	t-Value
Major Executives and Middle Management	83	89.44	9.65	-3.033
Manual workers and Semi- skilled	102	93.50	8.55	

Table 32 reveals that students whose parents were either manual workers or semi-skilled laborers evaluated John F. Kennedy higher than did the children of major executives and middle management. Students whose parents worked in the highest occupational group, major executives and middle-management, chose Richard Nixon to a significant degree over those in the lower occupational categories.

Hypothesis 4b. No significant differences exist between students separated by parent's occupation in their evaluation of John F. Kennedy.

Rejected at the .01 level.

TABLE 33

MEAN, STANDARD DEVIATION, AND t-VALUE OF SCORE ON
EVALUATION OF JOHN F. KENNEDY BY
"PARENT'S OCCUPATION"

Parent's Occupation	Sample Size	Mean	Standard Deviation	t-Value
White Collar and Technicians	145	89.88	8.57	-3.131
Domestics and Laborers	15	97.13	8.12	

NOTE: Fourteen of the fifteen respondents in the Domestic category were Negroes.

The data in Table 33 show that the students whose parents work as domestics or common laborers ranked John Kennedy higher than did the students whose parents work in white collar or technical occupations. As you go down the occupational scale, the impact of John F. Kennedy goes up. There is an inverse relationship between occupational rating and impact of John F. Kennedy. This same inverse relationship holds for "handling of domestic issues," "debates with Richard Nixon," "effect of inaugural address," "Ole Miss" confrontation, interest in the life and administration of John Kennedy, and rating of Kennedy as a "great" president. When choosing their most admired political figure, the children of domestic workers favored Kennedy, Johnson and Franklin Roosevelt.

Hypothesis 5. No significant difference exists on student evaluation of John F. Kennedy by extent of self-support.

Not rejected.

TABLE 34
MEAN, STANDARD DEVIATION, AND t-VALUE OF SCORE ON
STUDENT EVALUATION OF JOHN F. KENNEDY BY
EXTENT OF SELF-SUPPORT

Extent of Self-Support	Sample Size	Mean	Standard Deviation	t-Value
All	83	92.72	10.02	-.025
None	64	92.76	10.72	

The data in Table 34 indicate there was no difference in student evaluations of John Kennedy between those students who were completely self-supporting and those whose parents met all their children's financial obligations. However, there is a direct relationship between the degree of parental support and the impact of parent's judgment on the held-attitude toward Kennedy. With an increase in economic support, there is a concomitant increase in the seriousness with which parental judgments are weighed.

The death of Robert Kennedy had the least impact on the image of John F. Kennedy, in fact, apparently none at all on the students who were completely self-supporting. Finally, those persons who were paying for all of their education were more impressed with Kennedy as a speaker than were the other students.

Hypothesis 6. No significant difference exists between political ideology and evaluation of John F. Kennedy.

Rejected at .01 level of significance.

TABLE 35

MEAN, STANDARD DEVIATION AND t-VALUE OF SCORE ON
EVALUATION OF JOHN F. KENNEDY
BY POLITICAL IDEOLOGY

Political Ideology	Sample Size	Mean	Standard Deviation	t-Value
Conservative	103	88.43	7.73	-3.685
Liberal	247	92.33	9.50	

Table 35 reveals that there is a significant difference between conservatives and liberals in their evaluation of John F. Kennedy, with liberals rating him higher.

Liberals were more favorably impressed with their first awareness of John Kennedy than were conservatives; they felt the mass media presented his handling of domestic issues in a more favorable light. Events in the administration of John Kennedy which had a significant impact on liberal opinion were the debates with Richard Nixon, the inaugural address, and the "Ole Miss" crisis. The personal characteristics of John F. Kennedy to which liberals responded more often than did conservatives were, "dynamic personality" and "war hero." Liberals strongly disagreed that Kennedy was "snobbish" or "indecisive" to a greater extent than did conservatives, and indicated a greater interest in the Kennedy administration versus the Johnson administration. The impact of Kennedy for these "liberals" resulted in a reduction in prejudice against a Catholic for President and an inducement

for them to join the civil rights movement. Kennedy was viewed as a "great" President more by liberals than conservatives. Other political choices rated higher by liberals than by conservatives included Lyndon Johnson, Hubert Humphrey, Eugene McCarthy, and Nelson Rockefeller.

Conservatives gave a higher rating to the "believability" of radio as a source of news, and were more likely to read U.S. News than liberals. Conservatives exceeded liberals in their belief that the Kennedy family was presented by the mass media in a favorable light. The event which had the greatest impact on conservative assessment of Kennedy was the Bay of Pigs. Related to this was their feeling, to a greater extent than liberals, that Kennedy was "soft on communism." As to personal characteristics, conservatives checked "no opinion" on "indecisive" and "snobbish" more often than did liberals. Student conservatives felt "no impact" by the Kennedy image to a greater degree than did liberal students. Political choices receiving a higher rating by conservatives than by liberals were: Goldwater, Wallace, Hoover, Roosevelt and Eisenhower.

Hypothesis 7. No significant difference exists between the politically "Far Left" and the politically "Far Right" in their evaluation of John F. Kennedy.

Not rejected.

TABLE 36

MEAN, STANDARD DEVIATION, AND t-VALUE OF SCORE ON
EVALUATION OF JOHN F. KENNEDY BY PERSONS
POLITICALLY "FAR LEFT" AND "FAR RIGHT"

Political Direction	Sample Size	Mean	Standard Deviation	t-Value
Far Left	63	94.87	10.81	1.507
Far Right	19	90.94	6.13	

Table 36 reveals there is no significant difference in the rating of students of the "far left" (SNCC, SDS) and members of the "far right" (John Birch Society) in their evaluation of John F. Kennedy. Both groups differed from students identifying with the mainstream Democratic and Republican parties in that they contained a significant number of students who felt Kennedy to be "insincere."

Students identifying with the "far right" politically differed from those students identifying with the Democratic or Republican parties, and the "far left," in that they had a significant number of their group who considered Kennedy "soft on communism." Contemporary political figures who received a higher rating from the "far right" than they did from other political stances were Governor Wallace and Senator Eugene McCarthy.

Events in the Kennedy administration that had a greater impact on the "far left" were the inaugural address, the "Ole Miss" confrontation, and the assassination. "Far Left" students were more convinced that Kennedy was a "friend

of the Negro"² and a "war hero" than students expressing other political ideologies. Of these two groups, the "far left" rated Kennedy significantly higher as a "great" President. They showed less interest in the Johnson administration than their rightest counterparts, but rated Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey higher than the other group.

Hypothesis 8. No significant difference exists between Democrats and Republicans in their evaluation of John F. Kennedy.

Rejected at the .01 level.

TABLE 37

MEAN, STANDARD DEVIATION, AND t-VALUE OF SCORE ON
EVALUATION OF JOHN F. KENNEDY BY PARTY
AFFILIATION

Party Affiliation	Sample Size	Mean	Standard Deviation	t-Value
Democrat	152	91.36	7.67	3.23
Republican	64	87.57	8.33	

Table 37 indicates that Democrats rated John F. Kennedy significantly higher than did Republicans. Democrats felt Kennedy had given them a more positive view of the office of the Presidency.

A significant number of Republicans felt Kennedy to be "indecisive" and less Republicans than Democrats rated him as a "great" President. As to political choice, Republicans

²Eighty per cent of the students classified as "Far Left" were Negroes.

gave higher ratings to Nixon and Goldwater and former Presidents Hoover and Eisenhower than did Democrats.³

Political party identification serves as a supplier of cues for evaluation. It becomes an opinion forming agency. Merely associating the party symbol with a politicians' name encourages those identifying with the party to develop a more favorable image of the man, his life and administration. Likewise, this association encourages supporters of the opposite party to take a less favorable view of these same personal qualities and events.

Hypothesis 9. No significant difference exists between Catholic and Protestant students on their evaluation of John F. Kennedy.

Not rejected.

TABLE 38

MEAN, STANDARD DEVIATION, AND t-VALUE OF SCORE ON
EVALUATION OF JOHN F. KENNEDY BY STUDENT'S
RELIGION

Religion	Sample Size	Mean	Standard Deviation	t-Value
Catholic	47	90.40	8.29	-.699
Protestant	269	91.33	8.40	

No significant difference exists between Catholic and Protestant students on the "John F. Kennedy Rating Scale" as shown in Table 38. However, Chi-square tests showed

³Ninety per cent of the students identifying with the Republican party were caucasian.

Catholic students were more favorably impressed by their first exposure to Kennedy than were Protestants. They rated Kennedy higher as their "most admired political figure" than did Protestants and, similarly, when comparing John Kennedy with other American Presidents, gave him a higher rating than did Protestants.

As a source of news, Protestants were more likely to read the Reader's Digest regularly than were Catholics. They expressed a greater interest in politics than Catholics, and awarded a higher rating to Lyndon Johnson than did Roman Catholics.

Hypothesis 10. No significant difference exists on student evaluation of John F. Kennedy by fraternity-sorority vs independent status.

Not rejected.

TABLE 39

MEAN, STANDARD DEVIATION, AND t-VALUE OF SCORE ON
STUDENT EVALUATION OF JOHN F. KENNEDY BY
FRATERNITY-SORORITY VS INDEPENDENT STATUS

Fraternity-Sorority Membership	Sample Size	Mean	Standard Deviation	t-Value
Yes	76	91.48	8.32	.107
No	284	91.35	9.45	

Table 39 reveals that there was no significant difference between members of fraternities and sororities and "independents" in their evaluation of John F. Kennedy.

Chi-square tests showed that fraternity-sorority members rated Barry Goldwater and Nelson Rockefeller higher than did independents, while independents tended to rate Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey more favorably.

Hypothesis 11. No significant difference exists on evaluation of John F. Kennedy between students reared in rural areas vs medium (2,500-50,000) size urban areas.

Not rejected.

TABLE 40

MEAN, STANDARD DEVIATION, AND t-VALUE OF SCORE ON
EVALUATION TOWARD JOHN F. KENNEDY BY RURAL VS
MEDIUM SIZE URBAN AREAS

Residence	Sample Size	Mean	Standard Deviation	t-Value
Rural	35	93.37	65.12	1.210
Urban	159	91.48	70.71	

Table 40 shows no difference between residents of rural and residents of medium size (2,500 to 50,000) urban areas in their evaluation of John Kennedy.

Hypothesis 12. No significant difference exists on evaluation of John F. Kennedy between scores from farm-urban backgrounds.

Rejected at the .05 level.

TABLE 41
MEAN, STANDARD DEVIATION, AND t-VALUE OF SCORE ON
EVALUATION TOWARD JOHN F. KENNEDY BY
FARM-URBAN BACKGROUNDS

Residence	Sample Size	Mean	Standard Deviation	t-Value
Farm	14	96.28	12.5	2.101
50,000+	150	90.36	7.8	

Table 41 indicates students from rural backgrounds rated Kennedy higher than their urban counterparts.

Hypothesis 13. No significant difference exists between evaluation of John F. Kennedy on basis of regional differences.

Not rejected.

TABLE 42
MEAN, STANDARD DEVIATION, AND t-VALUE OF SCORE ON
EVALUATION OF JOHN F. KENNEDY BY REGION

Region	Sample Size	Mean	Standard Deviation	t-Value
South	291	91.87	9.16	1.946
Outside South	66	89.43	9.29	

Table 42 indicates there was no significant difference in the evaluation of John F. Kennedy by region. While the overall evaluation did not reach statistical significance, students from the North-East became aware of Kennedy via television to a greater extent than did students from

other sections of the country. Students from this section rated Kennedy as "indecisive" more than other students, and showed more interest in the administration of Lyndon Johnson than did students from other sections.

Students who lived most of their lives in the Mid- or Far-West showed far less concern over the Cuban missile crisis than did students from the South or Northeast. There appears to be a direct relationship between geographical proximity and personal concern. As the United States has never been bombed or struck by missiles from a foreign nation, it seemed difficult for these students to get personally involved over a crisis so many miles away. In reality, the Russian missiles in Cuba were powerful enough to have destroyed eighty million Americans within a few minutes after launching.

Mid- and Far-West students checked "no opinion" as to Kennedy's "intelligence" more than did students from other geographical areas. Finally, students from these western areas rated Kennedy an "average" President, more than did their counterparts from other areas.

Students from the South were more likely to read Look magazine than were other students. Southern students responded to Kennedy's "war hero" image more than students from other areas, and 99.7 per cent of students from the South agreed that Kennedy was "intelligent." Students from southern backgrounds gave Kennedy a higher rating as a

President and as an admired political figure than did students who were reared outside the South.

Hypothesis 14. No significant difference exists between age groups on evaluation of John F. Kennedy.

Not rejected.

TABLE 43

MEAN, STANDARD DEVIATION, AND t-VALUE OF SCORE ON
EVALUATION OF JOHN F. KENNEDY BY AGE GROUP

Age	Sample Size	Mean	Standard Deviation	t-Value
Over 25	29	90.67	8.58	-.406
Under 25	264	91.37	9.14	

Table 43 indicates no significant relationship exists between age groups on their evaluation of John F. Kennedy.

Summary

The students upon whom John F. Kennedy had the greatest impact were more likely to be female, Negro, students whose parents were from low-income and low-status occupations, liberal, Democrat and those from farm backgrounds who grew up in the South.

Events which had the greatest impact on the Kennedy admirers were the debates with Richard M. Nixon, the inaugural address, the "Ole Miss" crisis, and the assassination. They tended to perceive the presentation by the mass media of his

handling of domestic issues in a more favorable light, and had more interest in his life and administration than those students not rating Kennedy as highly. These students tended to rate Kennedy as a "great" President and "friend of the Negro" more than did others. The impact of Kennedy upon these students was to reduce the bias against a Catholic for President and give impetus to the civil rights movement. Other politicians these students tended to admire are also generally classified as liberals: e.g., Lyndon Johnson, Hubert Humphrey, and Nelson Rockefeller.

Those who rated Kennedy less favorably had the following socio-economic characteristics: white, male, high-income and high-status occupations, Republican, conservative, and reared in large cities outside the South.

Events influencing students who rated Kennedy less favorably were the Bay of Pigs, the Cuban missile crisis, and "Ole Miss." Politicians rated higher by this group are generally viewed as political conservatives: e.g., George Wallace, Barry Goldwater, Richard Nixon and Herbert Hoover.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION: THE IMPACT OF A CHARISMATIC IMAGE

Significance of the Study

The importance of this study rests in its description of the way the projected image of John F. Kennedy in the mass media was perceived by a sample of college students; and, further, how selected socio-economic variables affected this held-image and the social actions taken on the basis of the influence of President Kennedy. This knowledge will be of value to students of the mass media and political sociology in determining the role of the mass media in the political processes. These results have implications for the sociology of knowledge, showing that what we think is related to our class position. Gestalt psychologists can profit from seeing how the image structure of an individual is functionally related to the person's perceptual situation as a whole.

Summary of Significant Findings

The major findings of this study were:

1. The analysis of the projected image of John F. Kennedy in the mass media of the United States during the years 1960-1967 revealed four factors: (a) the projected

image was generally favorable with the number of favorable articles being four times that of the unfavorable ones. (b) The presentation of President Kennedy varied by direction and by subject. The area of his image receiving the greatest attention in the seven year period dealt with articles concerning his personal characteristics. The highest percentage of unfavorable articles concerned his ability as a President; however, when his record in foreign policy versus his performance on domestic issues are compared, foreign policy ran ahead. (c) The projected image varied by the political philosophy of the presenting magazine, e.g., in the seven year period (1960-1967) the politically conservative National Review never wrote a single favorable article about Mr. Kennedy. (d) The presentation of the Kennedy image was related to the values of the wider socio-political structure. Not a single article in the seven year period which was focused directly on the Kennedy family was judged unfavorable, perhaps reflecting the respect in this culture for the family as a social institution.

2. The mass media did have an impact on the held-image of John F. Kennedy by the sample of college students. Television was the primary source of information by which the student sample first became aware of John F. Kennedy. Television was also perceived as the most believable source of news. One of the chief reasons given for this confidence in television was the visual component, i.e., the individual is

able to evaluate news by "on the spot coverage." Similarly, the magazine which was listed as having the greatest impact on the held-image of John F. Kennedy, Life, utilizes a pictorial format.

John F. Kennedy was perceived by the respondents as having been favorably presented by the mass media. Areas of his image perceived as being presented in the "most favorable" light were his personal characteristics and style as President. These results parallel the findings of the content analysis of the projected image of him in major magazines.

3. The held-image of John F. Kennedy by the college sample was a generally favorable one. He was, by far, the most admired contemporary political figure for these college students. He received more first place "votes" than all seven other political figures suggested as alternatives combined. Similarly, the sample ranked Kennedy ahead of the five Presidents who preceded him in that office, and seventy-six per cent rated him as either a "Great" or "Near Great" President.

The traits the students admired most in him were "good speaker," "dynamic personality," and, most of all, his intelligence. The two events which were important in student assessment of John Kennedy were the assassination and the Cuban missile crisis. For many, the assassination apparently made manifest a prior latent attachment to the President. Because of the geographic position of Florida, the students

reacted personally to the Cuban missile crisis. The students showed a high level of interest in the life and administration of Kennedy. This interest centered around their identification with his youth.

4. The held-image of John F. Kennedy varied with the socio-economic background of the respondent. The students upon whom President Kennedy had the greatest impact were: females, Negroes, students whose parents were from low-income and low-status occupations, liberals, Democrats and those from farm backgrounds who grew up in the South. They tended to perceive the presentation by the mass media of his handling of domestic issues in a more favorable light, and had more interest in his life and administration than those students not rating Kennedy as highly. These students tended to rate Kennedy as a "Great" President and "friend of the Negro" more than did others.

Those who rated Kennedy less favorably had the following socio-economic characteristics: white, male, high-income and high-status occupations, Republican, conservative, and reared in large cities outside the South. The events which influenced students who rated Kennedy less favorably were: Bay of Pigs, Cuban missile crisis and the integration of the University of Mississippi.

5. The impact of this held-image of John F. Kennedy was primarily in the area of attitude formation and political opinion. He generated an interest in these American youths

in politics, history and world affairs. President Kennedy left the students with a more positive attitude toward politics as a profession and the Presidency as an office. He influenced the students toward a more favorable view of the civil rights movement and reduced the prejudice against a Catholic President.

Theoretical Implications of Empirical Findings

History is sometimes taught in terms of outstanding individuals. They are the social means by, and through, which the group pursues its goals and preserves its values. Why is a particular member of a group selected as its leader? A number of explanations have been advanced: individual traits, spirit of the age, dynamic achievement, and ability plus opportunity.

The German social thinker Max Weber advanced the concept "Charisma" to explain the rise to leadership of some men. This term is applied to a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with at least specifically exceptional qualities. These are regarded as exemplary and on the basis of them the individual concerned is treated as a leader.¹

¹Reinhard Bendix, Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait (Anchor Books: Doubleday and Co., Garden City, 1960), p. 88.

In Weber's thought, "Hereditary Charisma" refers specifically to the most prominent male descendants of chieftains who had extraordinary personal appeal to their followers, which rested on actual and imputed gifts and powers. Similar gifts and powers were attributed to, as well as claimed by, the extended families of such chieftains, so that Weber refers to a family as possessing "hereditary or familial charisma."²

The desire to preserve the original charisma can be satisfied only by its transformation. Weber spoke of the "routinization of charisma" to designate the process by which the personal charisma of the heroic leader devolved upon their kin so that eventually charisma became attributed to kinship rather than to the individual. Familial charisma is transmitted through a blood relationship as opposed to institutional charisma (Roman Catholic apostolic succession) which is on a basis of education and investiture.³

Weber, then, gives us three stages in the evaluation of the appearance and perservation of charismatic leadership.

1. A leader whose personal qualities set him apart from ordinary men.
2. The imputation of these gifts of the original leader to his family.
3. The continuance in political power of the family on the basis of this charisma.

²Ibid., p. 117.

³Ibid., p. 146.

The following statements are representative of the charismatic appeal of John F. Kennedy to college youth:

- A. "He wasn't a Jesus Christ, but sure could be a Moses." [Negro male]
- B. "John F. Kennedy was a symbol of hope, a profound saviour, an unbelievable light and friend. He was tall in strength and broad in his means of fighting." [Negro female]
- C. "His personal charisma 'charmed away' some old conservative political ideas I held. I was only in high school when he was elected and he was the first political figure I ever really took an interest in." [White male]
- D. "To look at his face, I got the opinion that there's something pure, truthful, and lovely inside of him. When he speaks he sounds with sincerity. We seem to have two things in common: humanity and America!!!" [Negro female]
- E. "The Kennedy election was the first national election that I followed completely. He had a special rapport with Black People. Somehow it seemed as if I knew him personally." [Negro male]
- F. "Charismatic qualities, I seldom ever missed a televised speech of the former president." [White female]
- G. "To me, John F. Kennedy came as close to living a complete life as any man has ever lived or will ever live. He represents the kind of man I can respect and admire forever." [White female]

The same charismatic gifts which led to the rise of John F. Kennedy have been imputed to his family. Schapp, in his biography of Robert F. Kennedy, discusses the way in which the legacy-legend of John F. Kennedy lent itself to Bobby Kennedy's charisma.

Beyond a doubt, he (Robert F. Kennedy) has charisma, an almost magical drawing power that prompts construction workers, balanced on the girders of a skeletal building, to wave at him as he walks by, that pulls teenagers away from their transistors and gathers them about him, that turns college students into squealing maniacs. No one

who has ever traveled with him can doubt his appeal. People want to see him, touch him, smile at him, shake his hand, even rumple his hair, and his supporters say he is a symbol of the dynamic new politics, and his detractors say he is trading on the reputation of his dead brother.⁴

With the assassination of Robert Kennedy on June 6, 1968,⁵ while campaigning for the Presidency, the continuance in political power of the Kennedy family falls to the last male Kennedy of this generation, Edward M. Kennedy. He was elected to the Senate from Massachusetts in 1962, using the same slogan as John Kennedy when he had run for the Senate, "I can do for Massachusetts."

"Ted" Kennedy's opponent in the Senatorial race, Edward McCormick, the nephew of the Speaker of the House, charged over and over again that it was the Kennedy name that was being elected. He said on numerous occasions that if his opponent's name were Edward Moore his candidacy would be a joke. Unfortunately for Mr. McCormick, his opponent's full name was Edward Moore Kennedy.⁶

On January 3, 1969, the Democrats of the United States Senate chose "Ted" Kennedy to replace Senator Russell Long, of Louisiana, for the post of Assistant Majority Leader of the

⁴Dick Schaap, R.F.K. (New York: The New American Library, 1967), p. 43.

⁵Despite a plea for mercy from Senator Edward M. Kennedy, the assassin, Sirhan Sirhan, was sentenced to death for the slaying. At this writing, he is staring through the bars of the maximum security wing of the state penitentiary at San Quentin, California, waiting to be gassed.

⁶When President John Kennedy was asked whom he supported in the Senate race, he quipped, "I'd rather be Ted, than Ed."

Senate. U.S. News, in commenting on the change, remarked, "As in the past . . . the Kennedy name seemed to work magic."⁷ After the vote, Mr. Long philosophized:

Having had the experience . . . a number of other people have had in taking on a Kennedy, I can say it is a very interesting experience. I would suggest that Mr. Nixon should be very careful and watch himself for the future, because in all probability he has a very able opponent ready for him.⁸

The Kennedy's provide an unusually neat example of the type of charisma about which Weber wrote. In John F. Kennedy we see a leader whose personal qualities set him apart from ordinary men. His gifts were imputed to his brothers, Robert and Edward, and on the basis of this hereditary charisma, the family continues in political power.

As shown in this study, the impact of this charismatic image varies with social groups in American society. John F. Kennedy received his greatest political support from persons of low-income and low-status occupations. Persons of low socio-economic status are characterized by mobility striving, political liberalism, and preferences for change in the social order, with a tendency to become engaged in social movements that strive to bring about change.

The prospects for social mobility depend on the barriers to attainment of high status. Individual ability is of little consequence when society allocates its rewards

⁷"Kennedy Victory," U.S. News and World Report (January 13, 1969), p. 16.

⁸Ibid.

on the basis of ascribed status. An open-class system grants a man a chance to rise in the social order but instills in him the fear of failure and status insecurity. The status anxiety is greatest in the middle class. At the lowest level, few see much more hope of status gain, and few struggle to climb.

Perhaps no one characteristic determines an individual's social class, and chances in the opportunity structure, in the United States, as his race. There is a relationship in American society between race, occupation, political party identification, and political ideology. In the student sample of this study, ninety-three per cent of the children of domestic workers were Negro, eighty per cent of the students characterizing themselves as "Far-Left" politically were Negro, seventy-one per cent of the students from farm backgrounds were Negro, and seventy-nine per cent of students whose parents were in the "low-income" bracket were Negro. Conversely, ninety per cent of those students identifying with the Republican party were white.

In this perspective the low-income, low-status person would more readily adopt a favorable perception of the Kennedy image, if it were accompanied by some feeling that John F. Kennedy represented the person's own interests better than did other political figures. Political behavior is instrumental behavior, a means toward other ends. Intense feeling about an issue will be translated into a partisan

choice between political candidates, only if the individual has some sense that the candidates will handle things differently.

American Negro college youth were faced with a dilemma when confronted with John F. Kennedy. They were hostile and suspicious of the white race, and were unaccustomed to expecting much sympathy from white governmental officials. It was necessary for the Negroes, in order to be able to admire Kennedy, to divorce their feelings for him from their reservations about the motives of a white politician. Kennedy, through his speeches and policies, convinced them he was above racial prejudice, and was genuinely concerned for all Americans.

His wealth, rather than being a source of alienation, made the Negro believe in his sincerity. As an article in Trans-action points out:

The attacks on the Kennedy wealth were in fact not a resentment of the economic 'oligarchical' tendencies of this wealth, but a resentment⁹ of the populist goals to which this wealth was placed.

John F. Kennedy was perceived by the young Negro as an agent of social change. The Negro had witnessed his uphill fight against the prejudice of a Catholic running for President, and saw that he had experienced prejudice in a personal way. Through him, the social structure could be opened, and blacks could take part in the American Dream.

⁹ "Kennedy's Death--Myths & Realities," Trans-action, Vol. 5, No. 3 (July/August, 1968).

The result was a heightened aspiration level for this generation of young Negroes. It is not simply a colorful hyperbole to say that to many young Negroes, John F. Kennedy represented a "Moses" showing the way to the "Promised Land."

Perhaps the most significant recurring theme in the replies of the Negro students was their trust in him. He communicated a concern for young people and black persons. Negro females were primarily charmed by his style and speaking ability, while the Negro males tended to admire his strong stand on foreign policy, "standing up to the whites," and his World War II record.

While white students generally admired John F. Kennedy, their admiration is more restrained than that of Negroes, and many admired his personality while disagreeing with his policies. The quality with which white students most vigorously identified was his youth. He made them feel a part of the political processes and gave them a sense of political potency. Politics, history, and international affairs came alive for them at an age when they were coming to their political majority.

The impact of the image of John F. Kennedy may best be explained, then, by (1) his personal charismatic qualities, and (2) the policies he pursued that reflected on the personal needs and values of the respondents.

The scientific study of images, like the scientific study of society, is a new science about an ancient problem.

As early as the second Council of Nicaea in 787, the doctrine of the Church concerning the veneration of images was carefully defined. This doctrine, still held by the Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches, declared that veneration, not adoration, might be shown toward sacred images, but only in a relative manner, that is, addressed not to the image itself, but, through it, to the original person or object it represented.¹⁰

In a like manner, the purpose of this study was not merely to study an image, but that through this study, some insight may be gained into the life and legacy of the man: John Fitzgerald Kennedy, the thirty-fifth President of the United States.

¹⁰Joseph L. Morse, Editor in Chief, Standard Reference Encyclopedia, Vol. 13, p. 4788.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

JOHN F. KENNEDY: DEVELOPMENT OF AN IMAGE

JOHN F. KENNEDY: DEVELOPMENT OF AN IMAGE

"All the world's a stage, and all the men and women merely players."¹ Orrin E. Klapp outlines the role of dramatic encounters in the development of an image. The pertinent questions to ask about such encounters are: Did the actor move at the right psychological moment? Did he carry his role well before the audience? Was he suitably cast for the part? Was the plot pattern favorable? Who played parts against him, and how did they carry off their parts?²

The Emerging Kennedy

John Fitzgerald Francis Kennedy was born in Brookline, Massachusetts, on May 29, 1917, the second of nine children (and the second son) of Joseph P. Kennedy, Sr., and Rose Fitzgerald Kennedy. Both his grandfathers were sons of Irish immigrants who moved to Massachusetts after the potato famine in Ireland in 1847. Pat J. Kennedy served in both houses of the Massachusetts legislature and John F.

¹William Shakespeare, As You Like It. Act II.

²Orrin E. Klapp, Symbolic Leaders: Public Dramas and Public Men (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1964), p. 76.

("Honey Fitz") Fitzgerald was a mayor of Boston.

The first school John Kennedy attended was a private day school, the Dexter School in Brookline. He did not attend a public school. The only Catholic school he attended was the Caterbury School in New Milford, Connecticut. For a preparatory school, the boy's father selected Choate because he wanted him to mix and compete with a greater variety of boys than possible in a Catholic school. The Kennedy daughters attended Catholic schools.

John Kennedy graduated sixty-fourth in a class of 112 from Choate. To his classmates, if not to his teachers, he must have shown some glimpse of his potential ability, for he was voted "the most likely to succeed."³

At 18, Jack chose Princeton over Harvard, where his brother was already an undergraduate. The summer prior to college, his father sent him to the London School of Economics to study under Harold J. Laski, the noted socialist.

Jaundice cut short his studies in England and, the following fall, it recurred, forcing the termination of his studies at Princeton. After resting the remainder of the year, he entered Harvard--his father's alma mater. While there, he made the swimming squad and won the intercollegiate sailboat championship. He played football on the junior varsity and, in one scrimmage, he injured his back. This was

³James MacGregor Burns, John Kennedy: A Political Profile (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1967), p. 76.

the beginning of a physical disability which affected him for the rest of his life.

Scholastically, Jack Kennedy was an undistinguished student, well down in the lower half of his class. He did, however, make the editorial board of The Crimson, Harvard's newspaper. Between his junior and senior years, he took a leave of absence, and under his father's direction, toured trouble spots throughout Europe. What he saw challenged his mind. He decided to try for honors in political science. This meant writing a thesis. For his subject, he chose a study of the mistakes in foreign policy which had brought Europe into war. It was entitled: "Appeasement at Munich" and earned him a cum laude in 1940. His thesis was later published in book form under the title Why England Slept and became a national best seller (40,000 copies sold).

Upon graduation, he attended Stanford University and studied business for six months. Dissatisfied, he dropped this and took a trip to South America.

The war in Europe continued to grow. After his brother Joe enlisted in the Navy, Jack followed. Early in 1943, he was placed in command of Patrol Boat 109. It was part of a squadron of PT boats operating near Guadalcanal Island in the Solomon Islands. One night while patrolling in the Blackett Strait, west of New Georgia, the PT boat was cut in half by a Japanese destroyer. Kennedy swam for five hours towing a wounded man, holding in his teeth one end of a long strap on the burned man's "Mae West." When finally

rescued, he was awarded the Purple Heart, the Navy and Marine Medal.

After the war, Kennedy worked for a time as a reporter for the Chicago Herald American where he covered the United Nations and the Potsdam Conference. However, he was dissatisfied with writing about events rather than making news. For a brief time he considered becoming a college teacher, but then rejected the idea due to the amount of time it would require.

The Democratic nomination for Representative from the eleventh Massachusetts Congressional District was open so he dropped reporting to enter politics. His campaign for Congress showed an early concern for image-making. A Harvard public-opinion expert made a study of the district, and advised him to avoid world problems. Kennedy pushed his image as a veteran and stuck to local bread-and-butter issues:

When ships were sinking and young Americans were dying
. . . I firmly resolved to serve my country in peace
as honestly as I had tried to serve it in war.⁴

A condensation of The New Yorker account of the PT boat episode was widely distributed.

Thus at twenty-nine he entered Congress, where he served from 1947 to 1953. He was on the District of Columbia Committee, as well as the Committee for Education and Labor.

⁴"Promise Kept," Time, July 1, 1946, p. 23. The Time correspondent described Kennedy as a "teetotaler." I leave it to the reader to decide if this description of an Irish-Catholic, Navy veteran, grandson of a saloon-keeper was accurate.

He opposed the Taft-Hartley Act and farm supports but favored housing legislation.

In 1952, he challenged the Senate seat of the venerable Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.

Senator Lodge had held the seat since 1936. A liberal Republican, like Kennedy, a Harvard graduate, he had seen combat service with the Army in North Africa and Europe during World War II. He was popular, respected and the chief supporter of General Dwight D. Eisenhower for the Republican nomination for President. His grandfather, the first Henry Cabot Lodge, had defeated Kennedy's grandfather Honey Fitz for this same Senate seat. Expert political opinion was that young Kennedy did not have a chance.⁵

Kennedy beat him by 70,000 votes.

How had he done it?

Political pundits in Boston had a multitude of theories--Kennedy's money, his father's influence and mobilization of public-relations people, the tea parties, the Kennedy family, Lodge's inability to campaign during most of the year, the defection of the Taft men. . . . Undeniably, Kennedy outspent Lodge by a substantial margin; he had more television and radio time, more billboards, and probably more newspaper space. The campaign was not won on issues; the differences between the two men were too obscure. Like most Congressional and many Senatorial campaigns, the outcome turned on personality rather than national politics.⁶

On September 12, 1953, Senator John F. Kennedy married the striking and socially prominent Jacqueline Lee Bouvier. Richard Cardinal Cushing, then Archbishop of the archdiocese of Boston, performed the ceremony and read a special blessing from the Pope. The wedding was the social event of the Newport, Rhode Island season.

⁵James Playsted Wood, The Life and Words of John F. Kennedy (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1964), p. 39.

⁶Burns, op. cit., pp. 115-116.

Kennedy's back trouble worsened early in 1954, and by October he had reached the point where he entered a Manhattan hospital. Surgeons performed a double fusion of the spinal discs.⁷

The operation meant Kennedy would have to face prolonged inaction. He filled the time by working on a problem which had interested him while writing Why England Slept: i.e., political courage. At that time he was puzzled by the failure of most English politicians to defy public opinion and rearm Britian while there was yet time.

With the aid of Theodore Sorensen, he wrote of the political courage of eight men: John Quincy Adams, Sam Houston, Daniel Webster, George Norris, Edmund Ross, Thomas Hart Benton, Lucius Lamar, and Robert A. Taft. He entitled it Profiles in Courage. Published by Harper in 1956, it was an instant success. John Kennedy had now written two books, both were best sellers, and, for the latter, he received the Pulitzer Prize for biography.⁸

In writing of the effect of the book on the Kennedy political image, Burns says:

In January 1957, the Gallup Poll had asked people their preference if the choice for the Democratic Presidential nomination narrowed down to Kefauver and Kennedy. The

⁷He also suffered from an adrenal insufficiency which was rumored to be Addison's disease, but this was denied by Kennedy.

⁸The Senator presented the \$500 prize to the United Negro College Fund.

outcome was 38 per cent for Kefauver and 41 per cent for Kennedy. Four months later, in answer to substantially the same question, the returns, split 33 per cent to 45 per cent in the same order. Since the only relevant and significant event in the four-month interim was the Pulitzer award, it seems possible that literary honors carry more weight with the public than has been commonly thought.⁹

The year 1956 marked Kennedy's debut as a national politician. He had decided to back Stevenson as the Democratic candidate to oppose Eisenhower. In the sifting process for Vice-President, professional politicians sought a man to complement Stevenson, and the qualities that such a man must possess included being consistently pro-Stevenson, married and never divorced, a veteran and geographically from a large state not too near Illinois.

This assessment of Kennedy reveals his image at this point:

It would appear that the best of a good group is Senator Kennedy--young, but not as young as Clement (and nearly as old as Teddy Roosevelt when he was nominated Vice-President); now fully recovered from his spinal operation; holder of a brilliantly heroic combat record; married to a lovely wife; from the right kind of state in terms of size, location, and political tendencies; with more experience in Congress than Humphrey, Wagner, or Clement; author of a highly praised best seller; widely known and popular; a proven vote-getter against big odds; a moderate Stevensonian philosophy; friendly with party leaders in all sections; 'right' on Taft-Hartley and acceptable on the farm issue; with a winning charm, particularly on TV; an able speaker; and independently wealthy, with close contacts with other contribution sources.¹⁰

⁹Ibid., pp. 162-63. Drew Pearson would later charge that Kennedy did not write the book but retracted the statement after going over the original manuscript. Profiles in Courage ranks eighth in all time best seller list, 5,490,651 copies sold.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 183.

Stevenson was evasive as to his preference, but was a better prophet than he knew when he told Shriver on one occasion that Kennedy with his clean, All-American boy appearance and television personality, would be a splendid contrast to Nixon and his heavy, thick looks.¹¹

Kennedy delivered the speech renominating Adlai Stevenson for President, and the latter responded by throwing the nomination for Vice-President open to the convention. In a dramatic see-saw (Kennedy led on the second ballot 618 to 551), Kefauver won the nomination.

The effect was to dramatize the Kennedy image:

The dramatic race had glued millions to their television sets. Kennedy's near-victory and sudden loss, the impression he gave of the clean-cut boy who had done his best and who was accepting defeat, his campaign for the Presidency was born.¹²

John Kennedy was now a major figure in national Democratic politics. Over one hundred speaking invitations a week streamed into his office. During 1957, Time did a cover story on Kennedy; McCall's and Redbook wrote him up in feature articles. All of these articles focused on Mrs. Kennedy as well. He also appeared in American Mercury, U.S. News & World Report, Parade, Saturday Evening Post, and the Catholic Digest.

Kennedy himself contributed to a wide variety of magazines, ranging from a piece on three women of courage

¹¹Ibid., p. 183.

¹²Ibid., p. 190.

for McCall's to "What My Illness Taught Me" for the American Weekly.¹³

In order to assure politicians of his popularity at home, Kennedy needed to be re-elected to the Senate, in 1958, by a substantial margin. He won by 874,608 votes--the largest margin ever accorded a candidate for any office from either party in the state.

By mid-1959, Kennedy's campaign for the Presidency was developing swiftly. He was still leading the Democratic pack in the polls. But Kennedy had liabilities. He was young, Catholic, and a Senator. The only previous Senator to attain the Presidency was the bewildered Harding. Kennedy recognized this and on one occasion said:

Nobody is going to hand me the nomination. If I were governor of a large state, Protestant and 55, I could sit back and let it come to me. But if I am going to get it, I'll have to work for it . . . and damn hard.¹⁴

Dramatic Encounter: Kennedy vs. Humphrey: The West Virginia Primary

After winning an inconclusive victory in the Wisconsin primary (his margin was 56 per cent of the popular vote but he lost the predominately Protestant districts), Kennedy

¹³The three women of courage were Congresswoman Jeanette Rankin who defied popular opinion when she voted against America's entry into World War I, Anne Hutchinson, who was driven out of Massachusetts because of her "dangerous" preaching, and Prudence Crandall, persecuted in Canterbury, Connecticut, for opening a school which admitted Negro girls.

¹⁴"Man Out Front," Time (December 2, 1957), p. 13.

chose to meet Humphrey in West Virginia.

Kennedy was playing to a multiple audience: (1) the folksy audience of the primary state to be won directly, (2) the nation as a whole as it assessed the two contenders, and (3) the bosses of the big Eastern states whom he had to convince he was a winner.

West Virginia is populated with Welsh-Scotch-English Protestants, who earn their living principally in the coal mines. With the decline of coal as a major source of energy, West Virginia became a state with a major unemployment problem. West Virginians are white (95%) and Protestant (Catholics comprise only 5%).

In December of 1959, Lou Harris had reported a 70-to-30 break for Kennedy over Humphrey in West Virginia. After the Wisconsin primary, when national television enabled the voters of West Virginia to learn the religion of major candidates, Kennedy found himself on the short-end of a 40-to-60 public opinion poll. Repeated newspaper surveys showed well over half of Humphrey's support was based solely on Kennedy's religion. Even the Humphrey campaign song was sung to the tune of "Give Me That Old Time Religion."¹⁵

Kennedy attacked the issue directly and sought to shift it to one of tolerance versus intolerance. No one could prove his religious tolerance by voting for Humphrey

¹⁵Theodore C. Sorenson, Kennedy (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), p. 142.

but, if undecided, he could at least prove his liberalism by voting for Jack Kennedy:

. . . so when any man stands on the steps of the Capitol and takes the oath of the office of President, he is swearing to support the separation of church and state; he puts one hand on the Bible and raises the other hand to God as he takes the oath. And if he breaks his oath, he is not only committing a crime against the Constitution, for which Congress can impeach him--and should impeach him--but he is committing a sin against God.¹⁶

Over and over, in an attempt to improve the Kennedy image, his organization showed a documentary film on television which opened

. . . with a cut of a PT boat spraying a white wake through the black night, and Kennedy was a war hero; the film next showed the quiet young man holding a book in his hand in his own library receiving the Pulitzer Prize, and he was a scholar; then the young man held his golden-curled daughter of two, reading to her as she on his lap, and he was the young father; and always . . . he would explain his own devotion to the freedom of America's faiths and the separation of church and state.¹⁷

Opposing Kennedy was Hubert Humphrey. Tired from barnstorming in his bus (Jack Kennedy always flew), heavily in debt, and without a well-oiled organization Humphrey sought to cap his campaign with a television telethon. It was a disaster. The unscreened questions degenerated into a mixture of gossip, rhetorical questions and downright insults.

As a consequence, Kennedy won Protestant West Virginia

¹⁶Theodore H. White, The Making of the President: 1960 (New York: Antheneum House, Inc., 1964), pp. 128-29.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 129.

by better than a 60-to-40 margin.¹⁸

Thus, Kennedy emerged from this dramatic encounter with a strengthened image as a war hero, scholar, and Catholic family man dedicated to the separation of church and state. But most important, he proved he was a Catholic who could win Protestant votes.

The Democratic Convention

Theodore White describes the mood of the Democratic Convention as "perplexed, sober, and concerned."¹⁹ Democrats were divided on race relations and religion, but most of all on leadership. It was a confrontation of the "Young Turks" versus the "Old Guard." Learning from the breakdown in communications in the 1956 convention, the Kennedy Headquarters had a vast telephone network, including forty "delegate-shepherds" equipped with "walkie-talkie radios," to insure organization.

Six hundred of the necessary 761 votes were already pledged to the Kennedy forces, yet they had to win on the first or second ballot or face a deadlock and a compromise candidate. The Stevenson forces were noisy and emotional, but Lyndon Johnson furnished the chief opposition. Johnson

¹⁸Kennedy's first executive order as President was to double the amount of federally held surplus food available to West Virginia and placed \$144 million in defense contracts to that state, four times the amount given them by the Eisenhower Administration.

¹⁹White, op. cit., p. 183.

challenged Kennedy to a debate before the Texas delegation where he contrasted his Senate leadership with the absenteeism of "some people." In reply, Kennedy deflated the Johnson charge with the observation that, since Johnson had not identified whose shortcomings he was discussing

I assume he was talking about some other candidate, not me . . . so I come here today full of admiration for Senator Johnson, full of affection for him, strongly in support of him--for Majority Leader.²⁰

The Kennedy forces were able to gain the backing of uncommitted or favorite son delegations in Pennsylvania, Illinois (Stevenson's home state), and Wyoming. The final tally of 806 was anti-climatic. In his acceptance speech, Kennedy spoke of the challenge to be faced by the United States and said, ". . . we stand today on the edge of a New Frontier."²¹ This became the slogan which was to characterize his campaign and term of office.

Dramatic Encounter: The Great Debates

Kennedy realized that his most urgent task in the campaign was to become known for something other than his religion. The only medium with which to reach the entire electorate was television.

The Sindlinger studies revealed there was an over-all increase in the use of television as a medium for the

²⁰Sorensen, op. cit., p. 156.

²¹White, op. cit., p. 213.

Presidential campaign over previous years. In 1952, 31 per cent of a national sample credited television with bringing them the most information about the campaign; 49 per cent of the respondents gave television the credit in 1956, and 60 per cent in 1960.²²

Interest was high in the nation upon the announcement of the debates. Sindlinger found that 90 per cent of the population aged twelve and over knew of the debates in advance.²³ Not only did they know of the debates, but more people than in previous elections were undecided on a candidate at this stage of the campaign. The Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan reported there was some tendency to make up one's mind later in the 1960 campaign than in 1948, 1952, and 1956. seventy-six per cent knew whom they would support at the time of the 1956 conventions as compared with 60 per cent at the time of the 1960 conventions.²⁴

The Audience

Katz and Feldman were able to locate thirty-one independent studies of public response to the Kennedy-Nixon debates within two years after the event. It is almost certain

²²Klihu Katz and Jacob J. Feldman, "The Debates in the Light of Research: A Survey of Surveys," The Great Debates, ed. Sidney Kraus (Indiana University Press, 1962), p. 193.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Ibid.

that this is the largest number of studies of a single public event in the history of opinion and attitude research.²⁵

The national studies are virtually unanimous in placing the size of the audience for the first debate at sixty to sixty-five per cent of the total adult population. Altogether, some seventy of the 107 million United States adults--and perhaps another ten to fifteen million younger people--watched or listened to the first debate. A conservative estimate would be that at least fifty-five per cent of the total adult population watched or listened to each of the debates and, altogether, upwards of eighty per cent of the population saw or heard at least one of the debates. The average debate viewer was in the audience for some two and one-half hours--that is, for three of the debates. Surely this is one of the great political assemblages of all time. When Lincoln debated Douglas, there were less than five million total votes cast. Katz and Feldman estimate that not more than ten per cent of the population failed to learn about the debates within twenty-four hours.²⁶

Listening to the debates varied according to education, occupation, regionality, and religion. Proportionately, more persons in the higher educational and occupational brackets listened. The East led regionally, but despite the generally higher educational and occupational status of

²⁵Ibid., p. 173.

²⁶Ibid., pp. 173-92.

Protestants, proportionately more Catholics were in the audience. Indeed, those Protestants who mentioned religion as the most important issue in the campaign were less likely to be viewers.²⁷

Viewing of the debates was related to strength of commitment to candidate or party. (People watch what interests them.)

Two studies report on the context in which the listening or viewing took place. Carter found that viewing was done in the company of family members (usually just the spouse) and occasionally, of friends and neighbors. Only one-fifth of the respondents listened alone. Sindlinger reported radio listeners (some ten to twenty per cent) were much less likely to be at home; in fact, about one-half listened in their cars.²⁸

Audience Mood

Samuel Lubell writes:

At the outset of the campaign, the image of the two men held by most voters were not too favorable for Kennedy. During the early summer typical comments being voiced about Kennedy ran 'He's so good-looking, I'm afraid to vote for him,' or 'He's so new and inexperienced you wonder what he would do.' Nixon's strategy . . . was framed around the idea that with war a constant threat the public would decide it was unwise to choose someone new and uncertain over 'the man with experience.'²⁹

²⁷Ibid., p. 192.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Samuel Lubell, "Personalities vs. Issues," The Great Debates, ed. Sidney Kraus (Indiana University Press), pp. 157-58.

Was Kennedy Suitably Cast?

"Kennedy's style was ideally suited to this medium," wrote Theodore Sorensen. The author then describes Kennedy's unadorned manner of delivery, his lack of gestures and dramatic inflections, and his slightly shy but earnest charm.³⁰

Theodore White, in analyzing the Kennedy speech style, refers to his cadence and Harvard prose, and was impressed with his meticulous grammar and eloquence.³¹

Stevenson compared himself to Kennedy, and Kennedy to Demosthenes, when he remarked: "Do you remember that in classical times when Cicero had finished speaking, the people said, 'How well he spoke'--but when Demosthenes had finished speaking, the people said, 'Let us march.'"³²

Lubell observed:

As the debates continued the image of Kennedy that registered with the voters was of a sharp and aggressive man who talks like he knows what he wants to do . . . Kennedy was also helped by his distinctive accent . . . which sounded intelligent and educated.³³

Plot Pattern

Again Kennedy went on the offensive. He attacked. He made it a contest between the contented and the concerned. Richard Nixon describes his opponent's tactics:

³⁰Sorensen, op. cit., p. 195.

³¹White, op. cit., p. 333.

³²Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., A Thousand Days (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1965), p. 67.

³³Lubell, The Great Debates, p. 158.

Depressed and distressed areas, the unemployed, Puerto Rican and Negro victims of discrimination, the downtrodden farmers, the old people who couldn't afford adequate medical care, the underpaid teachers--all these were the fault of the Eisenhower Administration. We wanted to stand still--he wanted to move ahead. We didn't care about these problems--he did. For eight lagging years America had been stuck on dead-center--it is time to get her moving again. The Russians are catching up with us and will soon leave us in the dust--unless we get going.³⁴

Opponents Performance

Vice President Richard Nixon brought with him impressive credentials as a debater. He had outdebated Helen Gehagen Douglas in his race for Congress, had made a name for himself in the Alger Hiss case and was recognized as having handled himself superbly in the famous "Checkers" incident.

Sorensen analyzes Nixon's performance:

. . . it was Nixon's turn and those who expected his aggressive debating experience to destroy Kennedy were disappointed. He was clever and articulate as ever. But hoping to submerge among Democrats and independents his old image as a 'gut fighter' in exchange for the new image of a statesman, he began by agreeing with Kennedy's goals. . . . It sounded weak. What was worse, Nixon looked weak. Between the bleak gray walls and the bright floodlights of the television studio, his gray suit and heavily powdered jowls³⁵ looked flabby and pallid beside Kennedy's dark suit and healthy tan. . . . Nixon looked drawn and tired.³⁶

³⁴Richard Nixon, Six Crisis (Garden City: Doubleday, 1962), p. 338.

³⁵Nixon was wearing no theatrical make-up. In order to tone down his dark beard stubble on the screen, an advisor had applied only a light coating of 'Lazy Shave', a pan-cake make-up with which a man who has a heavy afternoon beard growth may powder his face to conceal the growth. Nixon looked thin and to counteract this, he drank a milkshake four times a day and put on five pounds by the second debate.

³⁶Sorenson, op. cit., p. 199.

White records Nixon's performance:

Mr. Nixon was debating Mr. Kennedy as if a board of judges were scoring points; he rebutted and refuted, as he went the inconsistencies or errors of his opponent. Nixon was addressing himself to Kennedy--but Kennedy was addressing himself to the audience that was the nation. . . . As one re-reads the text, one finds him (Nixon), over and over again, scoring excellently against the personal adversary in the hall beside him, yet forgetful of the need to score on the mind of the nation he hoped to lead.³⁷

Mr. Nixon evaluates himself:

I tried to analyze the debate objectively. I felt that Kennedy had done extremely well. He had been on the offensive throughout, just as I had expected him to be. I thought that as far as the arguments were concerned, point-by-point, I might have had a little the better of it. But . . . I knew³⁸ that appearance may at times count more than substance.

Result

The studies are very consistent concerning the results. The first debate was clearly won by Kennedy; the second was very close; the third debate was won by Nixon; and the final debate, again, was very close. Most important, the undecided, those who had not made up their minds between the candidates, chose Kennedy more often than Nixon. Nixon's performance seems to have impressed proportionately more women than men.³⁹ The Roper data seem to indicate that style of presentation was more important than content or issues. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation study feels

³⁷White, op. cit., pp. 445-46.

³⁸Nixon, op. cit., p. 340.

³⁹Maybe women want a father-figure and not a lover-type as their President. Also, women are more conservative politically.

both personality and style were more important than content and issues.⁴⁰

Emerging Image

The most elaborate of the several image studies is that of Tannerbaum, in which respondents were asked to choose the attributes of their Ideal President in terms of a set of scales such as weak-strong, agitated-calm, old-young, and the like, and then--before and after the first debate, and, once more, following the last debate--they were asked to rate the two candidates in terms of the same scales. The first debate moved the rating of Kennedy, on all twelve scales, in the direction of the Ideal President; the most important shift being on "experienced-inexperienced." Both men moved away from the Ideal at the conclusion of the debates but Nixon moved away more decisively than did Kennedy. Tannenbaum concludes that "Kennedy did not necessarily win the debates, but Nixon lost them."⁴²

Two studies of university students (University of North Carolina and Southern Methodist University) identified a decline in the favorability of the Nixon image among pro-Kennedy people and a corresponding improvement in the image of Kennedy among pro-Nixonites.⁴³

⁴⁰Katz and Feldman, The Great Debate, pp. 195-200.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 203.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Ibid.

Summary

The Great Debates had given Kennedy what he needed most: nationwide public exposure. They destroyed the image of Kennedy which the Republicans were attempting to foster: a man too inexperienced for the responsibilities of the Presidency.

Dr. Elmo Roper estimated that fifty-seven per cent of those who voted believed the television debates had influenced their decision. Of the 4,000,000 voters who ascribed their final decision on voting to the debates alone, seventy-two per cent (or 3,000,000) voted for Kennedy. He was elected by only 112,000 votes.⁴⁴

The Kennedy identity was emerging nationwide. It was about this time that people began to talk of "The Kennedy Style."⁴⁵

Ceremonial Encounters: The Inauguration

It was an end and a beginning.

It ended the days when the job of President was "For Protestants Only" and began the administration of the youngest President ever elected to the office. Kennedy succeeded in office the oldest man to hold the office.

The audience for this encounter was not only the American people, anxious to see their new President, but the

⁴⁴White, op. cit., p. 353.

⁴⁵Schlesinger, op. cit., p. 71.

world. For, as Clinton Rossiter puts it:

The President, in short, is the one-man distillation of the American people just as surely as the Queen is of the British people; he is, in President Taft's words 'the personal embodiment and representative of their dignity and majesty.'⁴⁶

President Kennedy took careful interest in the staging of the Inauguration. There were five simultaneous balls (all of which he attended), a four-hour Inaugural Parade (which he reviewed bare-headed in the twenty-degree temperature), a concert, and a Democratic fund-raising gala. He attempted to have a representative from each of the major groups in American society present at the inauguration ceremony. Marian Anderson, a Negro, sang "The Star-Spangled Banner." He secured from the Protestant evangelist, Billy Graham, a list of possible Biblical quotations. Richard Cardinal Cushing gave the invocation, chiefly noted for its length. Robert Frost had to recite a poem from memory for he was unable to see the one he had written for the occasion due to the bright sun.⁴⁷

To Norman Mailer the arrival of Kennedy on the political scene matched the mood of the nation in its quest

⁴⁶Clinton Rossiter, The American Presidency (New York: Harcourt Brace and World, Inc., 1964), p. 17.

⁴⁷During the campaign and afterwards, Kennedy certainly never hid his allegiance to the fundamental principles of the New Deal--which Robert Frost had always detested. Yet no sooner did the New Frontier get itself named than Robert Frost heralded 'an Augustan age of poetry and power, with the emphasis on power.' Frost's return says a good deal about Kennedy's charm, for some of the most interesting minds in the U.S. (Alfred Kazin, Contemporaries, Boston: Little, Brown and Company. . . .), p. 448.

for a hero:

Whatever Mailer's personal symbol of an American hero, what he said was no more than what so many intellectuals felt. It was a hero America needed, a hero central to his time, a man whose personality might suggest contradictions and miseries which could reach into the alienated circuits of the underground, because only a hero can capture the secret imagination of a people, and so he is good for the vitality of his nation.⁴⁸

The lines which Kennedy spoke were the most memorable part of the drama. His address was short--only 1900 words, the shortest inaugural address since 1905 and surpassed in brevity only by Franklin Roosevelt's wartime inaugural addresses. Of his speech, Time wrote: "A blizzard threatened to turn the whole momentous occasion into a farce--But President John Kennedy, delivering his inaugural address, saved the day."⁴⁹

Time recorded these lines as most memorable:

Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend or oppose any foe to assure the survival and success of liberty.

Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate.

Ask not what your country can do for you--ask what you can do for your country.⁵⁰

Harold Taylor, writing in the New York Times Magazine, entitled his article: "The Young Are Now Heard." He spoke

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 450.

⁴⁹"We Shall Pay Any Price," Time (January 27, 1961), p. 7.

⁵⁰Ibid.

of the new style of this generation and its growing sense of alienation from the older generation.

The feeling has now been deepened by the arrival of a new President who has put the past behind him and announced a new beginning. Mr. Kennedy spoke for his generation--'born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage'--and was inviting the younger generation to join with him in creating a new age.⁵¹

It was a time of promise and of hope.

Dramatic Encounter: The Bay of Pigs

Of the Inauguration, Business Week had entitled its article, prophetically, "Kennedy Plunges Zestfully Into a Sea of Troubles."⁵²

The nadir of Kennedy's fortunes was reached less than three months after his gala entry into the White House.

The worst disaster of that disaster-filled period . . . occurred on April 17, in the Zapata Swamp at the Cuban Bay of Pigs. A landing force of some fourteen hundred anti-Castro exiles, organized, trained, armed, transported and directed by the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was crushed in less than three days by the vastly more numerous forces of Cuban dictator Fidel Castro. . . . Both publicly and privately the President accepted sole responsibility. Many wondered, nevertheless, how he could have approved such a plan. Indeed, the hardest question in his own mind after it was over, he told one reporter, was how could everybody involved have thought such a plan would succeed.⁵³

Time Magazine wrote of the fiasco: "by backing an inadequate and mismanaged invasion attempt, President Kennedy

⁵¹New York Times Magazine (January 29, 1961), p. 5.

⁵²"Kennedy Plunges Zestfully Into a Sea of Trouble," Business Week (January 28, 1961), pp. 32-33.

⁵³Sorensen, op. cit., p. 294.

achieved the unhappy feat of making the U.S. seem both aggressive and weak at the same time."⁵⁴

"Only 90 days after it took power," wrote Newsweek, "the Kennedy Administration suffered a setback as grave as any that befell President Eisenhower during his entire eight years in office."⁵⁵

The reaction of the nation to the early mistake by its young President was not total disenchantment but best personified by an article in Business Week, entitled: "Seeing It Doesn't Happen Again."

The big question now: will he profit by his mistakes in this affair and emerge as a stronger and wiser President, or will his desire to recover lost prestige make him more vulnerable to pressures leading to the same kind of mistake.⁵⁶

Peculiarly, the pollsters found that Kennedy's popularity shot up spectacularly after the Bay of Pigs debacle just as Eisenhower's popularity had soared after the U-2 spy-plane blunder of 1960. These were two of the worst bungled episodes of their respective administrations, yet the public evidently displayed a rally-behind-the-President sentiment when the opposition is communist.⁵⁷

⁵⁴"Grand Illusion," Time (April 28, 1961), p. 11.

⁵⁵"Cuba: The Consequences," Newsweek (May 1, 1961), p. 21.

⁵⁶"Seeing It Doesn't Happen Again, Business Week (April 29, 1961), p. 25.

⁵⁷Thomas A. Bailey, Presidential Greatness (New York: Appleton-Century, 1966), p. 259.

Dramatic Confrontation: The
Steel Crisis

The 1962 steel settlement was the first without a strike since 1954. The President had personally written David McDonald of the Steelworkers pointing out the dangers of inflation and requesting that they settle their negotiations with the steel companies for a lesser figure than their first demand. The workers finally accepted a contract which provided for no general increase in wages but fringe benefit improvements equalling about ten cents an hour. Negotiations were concluded on March 31, 1962.

On April 10, the last major contract having been signed, the President was surprised to note that his appointment calendar included a late evening (5:45 p.m.) meeting with Roger Blough, President of the United States Steel.

Blough handed the President United States Steel's mimeographed press release announcing a \$6-a-ton price increase, four times the cost of the new labor settlement. The President was stunned. He felt that many things were at stake: his fight against inflation, the fight against foreign competition, the gold-outflow--and personally, he felt duped. He had helped the industry persuade the Steelworkers to reduce their wage demands in the interest of price-stability; now industry was asking an across-the-board price increase for all products. If the steel industry were successful in ignoring his plea for self-restraint, then every

industry and union in the country would feel free to defy him.

"To exact his revenge," wrote Time magazine, "Kennedy called upon all his powers as President, including legal retribution, economic reprisal, public threats and covert pressures. Most of all, he used his great political skills to arouse popular emotion for his cause. The theater was to be his press conference."⁵⁸

This writer remembers vividly the speech and the sternness with which it was delivered. Kennedy strode quickly to the podium. The amiability and charm that characterized so many of his press conferences were absent. In a hard voice, he denounced the largest steel company in America:

The simultaneous and identical actions of United States Steel and other leading steel corporations increasing steel prices by some \$6 a ton constitute a wholly unjustifiable and irresponsible defiance of public interest.⁵⁹

Reminiscence of Woodrow Wilson's description of the opponents of the League of Nations, Kennedy referred to the steelmen as

. . . a tiny handful of steel executives whose pursuit of private power and profit exceeds their sense of public responsibility can show such utter contempt for the interests of 185 million Americans.⁶⁰

⁵⁸"Smiting the Foe," Time (April 20, 1962), p. 23.

⁵⁹"Debate over Price Rise--Kennedy & Steel Industry," U.S. News (April 23, 1962), p. 87.

⁶⁰Ibid.

In discussing Blough's counter performance Time captioned his picture: "No match for the master."

The administrations' massive attack brought a counter effort by U.S. Steel. But it was too late, and too little. Kennedy had already corralled public opinion; even among business men, there was an overwhelming sense that U.S. Steel, in its timing and its tactlessness, had been fantastically stupid in its public relations.⁶¹

Within forty-eight hours, the steel industry backed down, cancelling its price increases.

This display of power brought a flurry of letters from those either opposed to Kennedy or frightened by the might of the power of the President. Letters to the Editor of Time ran five to one against President Kennedy's action. He was compared to Hitler, called a dictatorial White-Father and charged with running a police state.⁶²

It was chiefly this move which gave John Kennedy an image among business executives as being "anti-business." The Research Institute of America, on June 30, 1962, reported the results of a survey of 6,000 business executives. Fifty-two per cent described the administration as "strongly anti-business," thirty-six per cent as "moderately anti-business," and only nine per cent as "neutral" or "pro-business."⁶³

⁶¹"Smiting the Foe," Time, p., 24.

⁶²"Still Steel," Time (May 4, 1962), p. 10.

⁶³Schlesinger, op. cit., p. 638. On this occasion JFK remarked that his father may not have been totally wrong in referring to businessmen as "S.O.B.'s."

Despite the critics, the performance was an over-all plus for the Kennedy image.

For the second time since assuming office, he had passed through a crisis of decision. Both crises, not surprisingly, involved the use of Presidential power. In the first--the Bay of Pigs fiasco in Cuba--Kennedy had failed to use the power that was his to command. In the second--Big Steel--he had reacted instantly, instinctively, and converted potential power into dramatic, almost crushing force.⁶⁴

How was it that he was able to use such massive federal powers in a democratic republic?

Kennedy had learned what Lincoln discovered years before. Lincoln purportedly said that he could do anything with public sentiment, but nothing without it or against it.

Dramatic Encounter: The Ole Miss Confrontation

On January 20, 1961, an Air Force veteran named James Meredith requested admission at the University of Mississippi. Ole Miss, as the university at Oxford was known throughout the state, had never knowingly admitted a Negro, and offered complicated academic reasons for rejecting Meredith. A long series of court rulings, all the way up to the Supreme Court, ordered his admission and an end to official resistance.

This set the stage for a dramatic confrontation between state and federal power; between the mores and laws of Mississippi defending segregation and the challenge of federal law to change them.

⁶⁴"Reverberations," Time (April 27, 1962), p. 18.

Time wrote: "It was recognized as the gravest conflict between federal and state authority since the Civil War."⁶⁵

Kennedy hoped to avoid the image of a military takeover, such as had been required in Little Rock, Arkansas, under the Eisenhower administration. He ordered 550 plain-clothed United States Marshals to Oxford, Mississippi, to insure Meredith's enrollment in compliance with the order of the court.

On September 30, 1962, Meredith appeared on the campus. Simultaneously, the President made a national television appeal for peaceful compliance with law and the courts. Reviewing the circumstances of the case, he emphasized the Southern background of the federal judges, complimented other Southern universities that had admitted Negroes, and reminded his Mississippi listeners of that state's history of patriotism:

Mississippi and her university, moreover, are noted for their courage, and for their contribution of talent and thought to the affairs of this nation. This is the state of Lucius Lamar and many others who have placed the national good ahead of sectional interest. This is the state which had four Medal of Honor winners in the Korean War alone. . . . You have a great tradition to uphold, a tradition of honor and courage, won on the field of battle and on the gridiron as well as the university campus. You have a new opportunity to show that you are men of patriotism and integrity.⁶⁶

⁶⁵Time (September 30, 1963), p. 15.

⁶⁶Allan Nevins (ed.), The Burden and the Glory (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), pp. 169-70.

"Ole Miss" responded with a riot. It lasted from that Sunday evening until Monday. The President then used federal troops and National Guardsmen to control the situation, and Meredith finally began to attend classes shepherded by Marshals.

Kennedy's principal adversary in this drama was a stereotyped Southern politician: Governor Ross Barnett. As a politician, he had earned a reputation as a confirmed racist and fundamentalist Christian. In addition to being a Sunday School teacher, he had vetoed a bill to legalize wine sales. His futile attempts to block integration transformed his image in Mississippi from that of a mediocre do-nothing to one of a hero. His new popularity made almost any public office in the state open to him.⁶⁷

The results to the Kennedy image were, on the one hand, to further and unavoidably alienate Mississippians and other Southern segregationists from him. In November, 1962, the Mississippi Senate passed a resolution calling for the impeachment of President Kennedy on four counts, including incitement to insurrection at the University of Mississippi and betrayal of his inaugural oath. (A popular yell at Ole Miss was "4-2-1-3, we hate Kennedy"). Writing two months before President Kennedy's assassination, pollster Louis Harris estimated that the racial issue had driven some 4.5

⁶⁷"The Edge of Violence," Time (October 5, 1962), p. 17. Ironically, the Barnett hero-image faded so badly by 1967 that he ran a poor fourth for re-election as Governor.

million white voters away from Mr. Kennedy, most of them in the South.⁶⁸

But, to the Negro and those sympathetic to them, Kennedy emerged as a champion of civil rights. In the middle of 1963, when the Louis Harris organization asked Negroes who had done most for Negro rights, the first three in the judgment of the rank and file were the NAACP, Martin Luther King, Jr., and President Kennedy.⁶⁹

Dramatic Encounter: Cuba Revisited

In 1962, Russia attempted a tactical flanking operation against the United States by building military bases in Cuba. The Soviets provided bombers and personnel, but most important, missiles with a range up to 2,200 miles. If these forty Soviet strategic missiles were landed in Cuba they would be capable of striking deep into the heart of America. Aerial reconnaissance revealed the Soviet forces had completed construction, or were building, nine missile sites.

In a television address on October 22, 1962, President Kennedy informed the nation and the world of this crisis:

The cost of freedom is always high, but Americans have always paid it. And one path we shall never choose, and that is the path of surrender or submission. Our goal is not the victory of might, but the vindication of right; not peace at the expense of freedom, but both peace and freedom, here in this hemisphere, and we hope, around the world.⁷⁰

⁶⁸Schlesinger, op. cit., p. 973.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 949.

⁷⁰Sorensen, op. cit., p. 704.

He declared a quarantine on the importation of offensive military equipment into Cuba and gave notice that a missile attack from the island would be answered by a retaliatory assault upon Russia herself. He demanded that the Kremlin remove the weapons and dismantle the launching facilities. To head off incoming Russian vessels Kennedy dispatched American destroyers and cruisers. This was an East-West nuclear confrontation, not merely a dispute between Cuba and the United States.

A series of messages in which Khrushchev and Kennedy bargained and bluffed, culminated in an agreement whereby the Soviet Chairman agreed to withdraw missiles and permit on-site inspection by the United Nations. In return, Kennedy pledged that the island would not be attacked.

Events had come full circle. The island which had been the scene of President Kennedy's most notable failure was to be the stage for his greatest and most important success. Thomas A. Bailey would write: "Kennedy's finest hour came when he manfully faced up to nuclear annihilation by the Soviets during the Cuban crunch of October, 1962, which was probably brought on in part by his fumbling of the Bay of Pigs. He then came of age as a statesman."⁷¹ He had, as Prime Minister Harold Macmillan put it, earned his place in history by this one act alone.

⁷¹Bailey, op. cit., p. 330.

Dramatic Encounter: Rendezvous
with Death

With the Presidential election only a year away, Kennedy wanted to visit some of the Southern states where there was so much unrest over civil rights. Also, he hoped to patch a bitter internal dispute among Texas Democrats. Dallas had voted against him more strongly than any other big city. It was included in the trip, but not without misgivings.

Dallas was a center of right wing political activity. Handbills of the President had been scattered around stating "Wanted for Treason" and listing a bill of particulars. Adlai Stevenson had received rough treatment there, as had Lyndon Johnson himself. On the day Mr. Kennedy arrived, a full page ad appeared in the Dallas Morning News accusing Kennedy of aiding communism.

John Kennedy was coming to Dallas, then, on a mission of peace. As his open-topped Lincoln came within eighty-eight yards of the School Book Depository, a shot rang out.

The First Lady, in her last act as First Lady leaned solicitously toward the President. His face was quizzical. She had seen that expression so often, when he was puzzling over a difficult press conference question. Now, in a gesture of infinite grace, he raised his right hand, as though to brush back his tousled chestnut hair. But the motion faltered. The hand fell back limply. He had been reaching for the top of his head. But it wasn't there any more.⁷²

⁷²William Manchester, The Death of a President (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), p. 158.

The death of the President was perhaps the most swiftly disseminated news event in the history of man. Before the end of the afternoon over 99.8 per cent of the American public knew of the murder. (The remaining 0.2 per cent we must relegate to the invincibly uninformable.)⁷³ In Greece, a Gallup affiliate reported that by Saturday noon, 99 per cent of all Athenians knew of the slaying.⁷⁴

Grief reaction to the death of the nation's leader was nearly universal in the United States. An investigation by the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Chicago reported nine out of ten Americans suffered "physical discomfort."⁷⁵ Even among anti-Kennedy Southerners, his most determined opposition, sixty-two per cent "felt the loss of someone very close and dear."⁷⁶

Individual reaction to the death of the President expressed itself in varied ways.

In Boston Cardinal Cushing mounted his golden prie-dieu, faced a golden statue of Christ, and begged God to spare the life of America's first Catholic President.

The students of Notre Dame began preparations to sing one hundred masses for the President's soul.

⁷³Ibid., p. 189.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 499.

⁷⁵Manchester, loc. cit.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 505.

The Boston Symphony stopped the Handel concerto and started the slow movement of Beethoven's "Eroica," which is often used as a funeral march for fallen heroes.

Not all Americans viewed the murder of John F. Kennedy as a tragedy. The hate of those who applauded the death of the President transcended social class. In Bunkie, Louisiana, the head of the local Ku Klux Klan, a pre-dominately lower-class organization, gave out free coffee to celebrate the news. At Auburn University, a middle-class Alabama school, a history class loudly applauded when informed their President had been shot. The upper class of Palm Beach, Florida held open celebrations of Jack Kennedy's death at many large parties. Many toasted the President's assassin and the event was hailed as "wonderful news."⁷⁷

The effect of the assassination generally, however, was to create an image of a martyred hero. In 1960, he had been elected by 49.7 per cent of the popular vote. After the assassination, this figure changed to sixty-five per cent as voters claimed Kennedy had been their 1960 preference.⁷⁸

What future generations think of John F. Kennedy and the impact of his image must depend on the books, poems, pictures and studies done of him and his administration. In order to insure the association of his name with space

⁷⁷"Tropic," The Miami Herald (October 15, 1967).

⁷⁸Manchester, loc. cit.

exploration, Cape Canaveral was renamed Cape Kennedy. Congress changed the National Cultural Center to the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, and the Treasury responded by minting Kennedy half-dollars. It has become the most sought after coin ever minted. The British set aside three acres of the historic meadow at Runnymede, where the Magna Carta was signed, as a Kennedy shrine. The John F. Kennedy Library will be established at Harvard University, and that institution has renamed its political science department for him. The Kennedy Library will contain 75,000 pictures of Kennedy, most available for research projects only. There are about 860,000 feet of movie film covering the Kennedy years.⁷⁹

The United States Information Agency film Years of Lightning, Day of Drums, which chronicles Kennedy's Presidency and the assassination, has drawn record crowds throughout the world.⁸⁰ In three years after the death of President Kennedy, more than fifty nations have put out more than 500 stamps bearing his image. Kennedy is pictured as a boy, a PT-boat skipper, a yachtsman, husband and father. The popularity of the Kennedy issues is evidenced in that they outsell those honoring runners-up Sir Winston Churchill.

⁷⁹John Neubauer, "The Camera and JFK," Photography (November, 1967), pp. 90-91. The Kennedy shrine at Runnymede has since been dynamited by anti-Vietnam war demonstrators.

⁸⁰"The Kennedy Image, Three Years Later," Senior Scholastic (November 18, 1966), p. 10.

and Franklin D. Roosevelt, or even space subjects. A complete collection of ordinary-mint Kennedys costs about \$350 today, about twice what they sold for when issued. A JFK collection that included all of the imperforates, souvenir sheets and special varieties has an estimated value of over \$3,000.⁸¹

In 1963, a leading West German publisher polled some 180,000 boys, ages five to seventeen, asking them whom they considered the finest example of mankind in leading them toward fulfillment of their ambition. John F. Kennedy won hands down, running well ahead of "my father," "my teacher," and even the latest sports idols.⁸²

The following describes the French image of Kennedy:

They always mention his young, dynamic personality and his cultural and intellectual level; but they block out the facts detrimental to his reputation and dwell on the good as people always do with a hero and martyr. To generalize, the French liked his youth and new ideas for a modern world. Jackie being of French descent, beautiful and cultured, needs no discussion.⁸³

Professor J. K. Zawodny, a Polish-born political scientist of the University of Pennsylvania analyzed 12,000 signed messages of grief from sympathetic Warsaw Poles. The messages reflected the conviction that his death was a sacrifice voluntarily undergone. The writers of the

⁸¹"The Big Boom in JFK Stamps," Look (November 29, 1966).

⁸²Senior Scholastic, loc. cit.

⁸³Unpublished letter. Captain V. C. Joffrion, M.D., July 17, 1967, United States Army Medical Corps stationed in France.

messages saw Kennedy as a hero who fitted very well into the pattern of Polish values. Professor Zawodny concludes that this concept of voluntary sacrifice is historically rooted in Polish Catholicism and in the analogy to Christ's own suffering and Redemption.⁸⁴ It is unavoidable that Kennedy the Man will be obscured by Kennedy the Legend. We must wait for the final verdict of history, for a day when passions have subsided and myth can be untangled from fact.

In his 1,036 days as President of the United States, John F. Kennedy accomplished a great deal: the nuclear test ban treaty, the Alliance for Progress, the Peace Corps, the civil rights act, and numerous other measures in both domestic and foreign policy.

But it may be that Thomas A. Bailey will prove correct, as he wrote in his book Presidential Greatness, "He will probably be honored more for what he sought--the ideals of world peace and human brotherhood--than for what he actually accomplished."⁸⁵

⁸⁴"JFK's Image in Poland," America (June 12, 1965), pp. 845-46.

⁸⁵Bailey, op. cit., p. 8.

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONNAIRE

I. These first questions are designed to give us some picture of your social background.

1. What is your sex?

☐ Male
☐ Female

2. What is your race?

☐ Negro
☐ White
☐ Oriental

3. What is your religion?

☐ Catholic
☐ Jewish
☐ Protestant (specific)

☐ None

4. How often do you attend church?

☐ Often (once per week)
☐ Occasionally (once per month)
☐ Seldom (special occasions)
☐ Never (not in the last three years)

5. What is your age? _____

6. Did you live the majority of your life:

☐ On a farm
☐ In a community of less than 2,500
☐ In a community of 2,500 to 50,000
☐ In a community of over 50,000

7. What is (or was) your father's (or guardian's) major occupation?

8. What is your mother and father's total yearly income?

☐ below \$3,000
☐ \$3,000 to \$5,000
☐ \$5,000 to \$7,500
☐ \$7,500 to \$10,000
☐ \$10,000 to \$15,000
☐ \$15,000 to \$20,000

9. In what region of the United States have you lived most of your life?
___The "North"
___The "East"
___The "Midwest"
___The "Farwest"
___The "South"
___Outside the continental United States.
 (specify) _____
10. Are you a member of a fraternity or sorority?
 ___yes. ___no.
11. To what extent are you paying for your education?
 ___All
 ___Most
 ___Some
 ___None
12. With which of the following political groups do you identify?
 ___Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)
 ___Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)
 ___National Democratic Party
 ___National Republican Party
 ___George Wallace's American Independent Party
 ___John Birch Society
 ___Other (specify) _____
13. If there were only two major political parties in the United States, one for liberals and one for conservatives, which one would you be most likely to prefer?
 ___Liberal
 ___Conservative
- II. These next questions are designed to determine the primary sources of news and information utilized by college students.
14. Where did you get most of your news and information about President John J. Kennedy? Write the number "one" beside the sources which you used to get news about him most often. Then write the number "two" beside your next most often used source and so on until all areas are ranked.
 ___Radio
 ___Television
 ___Newspapers
 ___Talking to people
 ___Books
 ___Magazines
 ___Other (specify) _____

15. Which of the following do you feel is the most believable source of news?

☐ Magazines
☐ Television
☐ Newspapers
☐ Radio

Why? _____

16. Of the following magazines which do you read?

Regularly Occasionally Seldom Never

Readers' Digest	_____	_____	_____	_____
Look	_____	_____	_____	_____
Life	_____	_____	_____	_____
The Saturday Evening Post	_____	_____	_____	_____
Time	_____	_____	_____	_____
U.S. News and World Report	_____	_____	_____	_____
National Review	_____	_____	_____	_____
Others _____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Which of these listed had the greatest impact on your image of John F. Kennedy?

17. Have you ever read a book about John F. Kennedy?

☐ Yes ☐ No. Which one or ones? _____

18. Did you see the movie "PT 109"? ☐ Yes ☐ No.

19. How did you first become aware of John F. Kennedy?

☐ Saw him on television
☐ Read about him in a national magazine
☐ Read about him in a local newspaper
☐ Heard my friends discussing him
☐ Heard my parents discussing him
☐ Other (be specific) _____

20. What was your first impression of him?

☐ Favorable
☐ Unfavorable
☐ Neutral

What factors influenced this opinion?

21. What impact, favorable or unfavorable, has John F. Kennedy had on you?
- ☐ A great deal (as much or more than your parents or teachers).
 - ☐ Some impact (he influenced you in a few areas).
 - ☐ Very little (no more than any other historical figure).
 - ☐ No impact (either favorable or unfavorable).
- What factors influenced this opinion? (If not sufficient room, continue on back).
22. How influential would you say your parents were in forming your opinion of John F. Kennedy?
- ☐ It was my parent's judgment of him, more than any other influence, which shaped my opinion of John F. Kennedy.
 - ☐ While my parents had some influence on my opinion of Kennedy, my schoolmates and friends were more influential.
 - ☐ My parent's opinion of Kennedy had little or no impact on my image of him.
 - ☐ I disagreed with my parent's judgement of him.
23. Below are five general areas which the mass media discussed concerning John F. Kennedy. Please write the number "one" next to that area of his image which you feel was presented in the most favorable light. Having done this, rank in descending order the remaining areas.
- ☐ A. Personal characteristics
 - ☐ B. Family
 - ☐ C. Style as President
 - ☐ D. The way he handled foreign policy
 - ☐ E. His handling of domestic issues.

24. How do you feel John F. Kennedy was generally presented by the mass media?

- ☐ favorably
☐ unfavorably
☐ balanced
☐ no opinion.

25. The following are eight major events which are related to the image of John F. Kennedy. Please indicate the effect, if any, of each on the formation of your "image" of President Kennedy.

Great effect Some Little or none

The televised debates
with Nixon

Why? _____

Inaugural address

Why? _____

Bay of Pigs invasion

Why? _____

The crisis over the increase
in steel prices

Why? _____

The integration crisis
at "Ole Miss"

Why? _____

The Cuban Blockade Missile
Crisis

Why? _____

	<u>Great effect</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Little or none</u>
The Assassination	_____	_____	_____

Why? _____

26. Which of the events listed above had the greatest influence on your opinion and "image" of John F. Kennedy. Why?

27. Has the death of Robert Kennedy changed your opinion of John F. Kennedy?

____yes

____no

If so, how? _____

III. The following item check list is designed to give us some information concerning your mental image of President Kennedy. Each of these adjectives have been used to describe him by the mass media.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	No Opinion	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Young	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Family Man	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
War Hero	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Good Speaker	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Soft on Communism	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Religious	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Friend of Negro	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Dynamic Personality	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Witty	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Athletic	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Insincere	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Cultured	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Indecisive	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Snobbish	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Intelligent	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

IV. This final section is designed to ascertain what impact, if any, John F. Kennedy had on today's college youth.

28. How much interest would you say you had in President Kennedy while he was in office?
- ___ A great deal (all his activities, social and political).
- ___ Quite a lot (major political and social activities only).
- ___ Not very much (only spectacular events).
- ___ None at all
29. Would you say you have more or less interest in the life and administration of President Johnson than President Kennedy?
- ___ More
- ___ Less
- ___ Same

Why? _____

30. How much interest would you say you have in politics generally?
- ☐ A great deal (follow both local and national politics)
 - ☐ Quite a lot (major political activities)
 - ☐ Not very much (only spectacular events)
 - ☐ None at all
31. One area of the Kennedy administration which was controversial was the area of civil rights. Some persons agreed with the views and stands taken by President Kennedy while others did not. Which of the following statements comes closest to your position.
- ☐ I am in favor of the civil rights movement and it was the influence of John F. Kennedy more than anything else which shaped my attitude toward civil rights.
 - ☐ While I am in favor of the civil rights movement, other influences were more powerful in shaping my opinions on this subject.
 - ☐ I disagree with the civil rights movement and Kennedy had little or no impact on my opinions.
 - ☐ Kennedy's actions turned me against the civil rights movement.
32. During the 1960 campaign the issue of a Catholic President was hotly debated. Some persons feel that President Kennedy's election was influential in changing people's minds on that issue. Which of the following statements comes closest to your position?
- ☐ I do not object to a Catholic President, and it was the election and subsequent behavior of John F. Kennedy, more than anything else, which shaped my views on the subject.
 - ☐ I have never objected to a Catholic President.
 - ☐ I have always objected to a Catholic in the White House and President Kennedy's election did not influence my feelings.
 - ☐ Prior to the election of John Kennedy, I did not object to a Catholic in the White House but because of him I now would oppose a Catholic for President.

33. How has John F. Kennedy influenced your perception of politics as a profession?

☐ He had a positive effect
☐ Neutral
☐ He had a negative effect.

34. What impact, if any, has John F. Kennedy had on your attitude toward the office of the Presidency?

☐ Positive effect
☐ Neutral
☐ Negative

Elaborate _____

35. How would you rate John F. Kennedy in comparison with all other Presidents in American history?

☐ Great
☐ Near Great
☐ Average
☐ Below Average
☐ Failure

36. Listed below are some contemporary political figures. Please write in the number "one" across from the person you admire most. Then rank in descending order the remaining men.

☐ A. Richard Nixon
☐ B. Lyndon Johnson
☐ C. John F. Kennedy
☐ D. Barry Goldwater
☐ E. George Wallace
☐ F. Hubert Humphrey
☐ G. Eugene McCarthy
☐ H. Nelson Rockefeller

37. Listed below are our most recent Presidents. Please write the number "one" across from the President you felt was the best, then rank in descending order the remaining men.

☐ A. Herbert Hoover
☐ B. Franklin D. Roosevelt
☐ C. Harry S. Truman
☐ D. Dwight Eisenhower
☐ E. John F. Kennedy
☐ F. Lyndon Johnson

38. What was the principle criterion upon which you based your scale?

39. Final question: What specific actions have you taken on the basis of the impact and influence of John F. Kennedy on your life and outlook?

- ☐ A. Changed my college major
 - ☐ B. Joined a civil rights group
 - ☐ C. Changed religious affiliation
 - ☐ D. Alligned myself with a conservative organization in reaction to my dislike for him
 - ☐ E. Bought books about him
 - ☐ F. Other (be specific) _____
-

APPENDIX C

CHI-SQUARE TESTS OF SIGNIFICANCE

EXPLANATION OF CHI-SQUARE TABLES

Chi-square tests were computed, comparing the first thirteen variables (socio-economic characteristics) with the remaining seventy-six items. Out of 988 chi-squares computed, 260 relationships proved significant. As it would be impractical to present tables including all cells, the results are shown relating the socio-economic variable with a particular element of the Kennedy image. Degree of freedom, chi-square score, and level of significance is also listed.

In computing the chi-square if a variable, e.g., sex, proved significantly related to an item in the Kennedy image, e.g., Cuban missile crisis, the table was then inspected to determine whether males or females were most affected. The tables presented in this study reflect the result of this type analysis. In the case of income and occupation, inspection of the cells showed an inverse relationship. As the income-occupational scale went down, the impact of various elements of the Kennedy image would rise. Rather than listing all seven occupational breakdowns, the gradient tendency was reported relating occupational hierarchy to an element in the Kennedy image.

The tables read very simply. For example, in Table 44, there is a relationship between being a male and the Cuban missile crisis at the .01 significance level. Or, in Table 54, there is a relationship between holding a conservative political ideology and the reading of U.S. News.

TABLE 44

CHI-SQUARE TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE, BY SEX,
ON ELEMENTS OF THE KENNEDY IMAGE

Sex	Variable	df	χ^2	Signifi- cance Level
<u>Male</u>	Major event related to the image of Kennedy, Cuban missile crisis	4	18.83	.01
	Event with the greatest influence, assassination.	5	19.78	.01
	Interest in politics generally.	2	11.17	.01
	Interest in Kennedy versus Johnson.	4	15.40	.01
	Mental image, disagreed "soft on communism."	4	15.37	.01
	Major event related to the image of Kennedy, Bay of Pigs.	4	10.30	.02
	Magazine read regularly, <u>Time</u> .	3	10.92	.01
	Rating of contemporary politicians, Goldwater & Wallace.	7	15.32	.05
	Most believable source of news, magazines.	3	7.86	.05
	Magazine read regularly, <u>Newsweek</u> .	6	13.43	.05
	Magazine read regularly, <u>U.S. News</u> .	6	14.69	.05
<u>Female</u>	Major event related to the image of Kennedy, debates with Nixon.	2	6.11	.05
	Rating of contemporary politicians, Johnson	7	21.34	.01
	Mental image--no opinion "soft on communism."	4	15.37	.01

TABLE 44--Continued

Sex	Variable	df	χ^2	Signifi- cance Level
	Event with greatest impact on held-image, assassination.	5	19.78	.01
	Major event related to the image of Kennedy, inaugural address.	2	8.27	.02
	Rating of most recent Presidents, Kennedy.	6	12.65	.05
	Rating of Kennedy, "great."	4	10.42	.05
	Kennedy family presented favorably by mass media.	4	9.65	.05

TABLE 45

CHI-SQUARE TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE, BY RACE,
ON ELEMENTS OF THE KENNEDY IMAGE

Race	Variable	df	X ²	Signifi- cance Level
<u>Negro</u>	Major event related to the image of Kennedy, inaugural address.	4	30.42	.01
	Major event related to the image of Kennedy, Ole Miss.	4	73.86	.01
	Mental image, strongly agree, "friend of Negro."	8	38.97	.01
	Mental image, strongly agree, "intelligent."	8	20.69	.01
	Interest in Kennedy while in office.	4	58.61	.01
	Impact of Kennedy on issue of civil rights.	4	33.82	.01
	Impact of Kennedy on issue of a Catholic President.	6	17.47	.01
	Rating of Kennedy, "great."	8	99.43	.01
	Rating of contemporary politicians, Johnson	14	95.21	.01
	Rating of contemporary politicians, Kennedy	14	65.83	.01
	Rating of contemporary politicians, Humphrey.	14	125.74	.01
	Rating of contemporary politicians, Rockefeller.	14	38.97	.01
	Rating of most recent Presidents, Kennedy.	10	92.25	.01
	Rating of most recent Presidents, Johnson	10	103.37	.01

TABLE 45--Continued

Race	Variable	df	x ²	Signifi- cance Level
<u>Negro</u> (Contd)	Social actions taken because of Kennedy, civil rights.	8	47.49	.01
	Major event related to the image of Kennedy, assassination	4	11.25	.05
<u>White</u>	Major event related to the image of Kennedy, Cuban missile crisis.	12	70.76	.01
	Major event related to the image of Kennedy, Bay of Pigs.	12	70.76	.01
	Mental image, "soft on communism."	8	34.70	.01
	Mental image, "witty."	8	24.51	.01
	Mental image, "athletic."	8	23.16	.01
	Mental image, "indecisive."	8	20.10	.01
	Interest in Kennedy versus Johnson.	4	28.27	.01
	Rating of contemporary politicians, Nixon.	14	103.93	.01
	Rating of contemporary politicians, Goldwater.	14	105.66	.01
	Rating of contemporary politicians, Wallace.	14	53.36	.01
	Rating of contemporary politicians, McCarthy.	14	84.95	.01
	Rating of most recent Presidents, Hoover.	10	34.10	.01
	Rating of most recent Presidents, Truman.	10	35.30	.01
	Rating of most recent Presidents, Eisenhower.	10	21.27	.01
	Social actions taken because of Kennedy, "bought books."	8	47.49	.01

TABLE 46

CHI-SQUARE TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE, BY RELIGION
ON ELEMENTS OF THE KENNEDY IMAGE

Religion	Variable	df	χ^2	Signifi- cance Level
<u>Catholic</u>	Rating of contemporary politicians, Kennedy.	21	42.00	.01
	Rating of most recent President, Kennedy.	15	28.44	.01
	First impression of Kennedy, favorable.	6	12.82	.05
<u>Protestants</u>				
	Magazine read regularly, <u>Reader's Digest</u> .	9	28.23	.01
	Interest in politics generally.	6	18.31	.01
	Rating of contemporary politicians, Johnson.	21	33.20	.05

TABLE 47

CHI-SQUARE TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE, BY OCCUPATION,
ON ELEMENTS OF THE KENNEDY IMAGE

Occupation	Variable	df	χ^2	Signifi- cance Level
	Interest in Kennedy, as you go down the occupational scale, interest in Kennedy rises.	6	21.01	.01
	Rating of contemporary politicians, children of executive favor Nixon, of Domestics, Johnson & Kennedy.	21	51.47	.01
	Rating of most recent Presidents, as you go down the occupational hierarchy, the rating of Roosevelt rises.	15	43.70	.01
	Major event related to the image of Kennedy, as you go down the occupational scale, the inaugural address rises.	6	29.39	.01
	Major event related to the image of Kennedy, as you go down the occupational scale, the effect of "Ole Miss" rises.	6	37.67	.01
	Presentation in the mass media of Kennedy's handling of domestic issues, as you go down the occupational scale, the more favorably it is perceived.	12	29.79	.01
	Impact of Kennedy rises as you go down the occupational scale.	6	18.33	.02
	Major event related to the image of Kennedy, as you go down the occupational scale, the effect of the debates with Nixon rises.	6	13.66	.05

TABLE 48

CHI-SQUARE TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE, BY INCOME,
ON ELEMENTS OF THE KENNEDY IMAGE

Income	Variable	df	χ^2	Signifi- cance Level
<u>Low</u>				
(0-\$5,000)				
	Rating of Kennedy, "Great."	8	27.31	.01
	Rating of contemporary poli- ticians, Johnson.	14	30.93	.01
	Rating of contemporary poli- ticians, Humphrey.	14	45.17	.01
	Rating of contemporary poli- ticians, Kennedy.	10	20.58	.01
	Rating of most recent Presidents, Johnson.	10	34.48	.01
	As you go down the income scale, the impact of Kennedy rises.	4	14.12	.01
	Major event related to the image of Kennedy, inaugural address.	4	19.73	.01
	Interest in Kennedy versus Johnson.	4	21.30	.01
	Mental image, strongly agree "friend of Negro."	4	13.69	.02
	Reduced bias against a Catholic President.	6	13.30	.05
<u>High</u>				
(\$10,000-\$20,000)				
	Rating of contemporary poli- ticians, Nixon.	14	38.04	.01
	Rating of contemporary poli- ticians, Goldwater.	14	38.73	.01
	Rating of most recent Presi- dents, Hoover.	10	21.32	.02

TABLE 49

CHI-SQUARE TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE, BY RESIDENCE,
ON ELEMENTS OF THE KENNEDY IMAGE.

Residence	Variable	df	χ^2	Signifi- cance Level
<u>Rural</u>	Major event related to the image of Kennedy, inaugural address.	4	24.64	.01
	Magazines read, <u>Look</u> .	6	15.52	.02
	Magazines read, <u>Life</u> .	6	16.26	.02
	Rating of Kennedy, "Great."	8	16.01	.05
<u>Urban</u>	Favorably presented by the mass media.	6	23.10	.01
	Mental image, "witty."	8	23.33	.01

TABLE 50

CHI-SQUARE TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE, BY REGION,
ON ELEMENTS OF THE KENNEDY IMAGE

Region	Variable	df	χ^2	Signifi- cance Level
<u>North-East</u>				
	Mental image, "indecisive."	8	21.84	.01
	Greater interest in Johnson than other regions.	4	22.02	.01
	First awareness of Kennedy, TV	6	13.56	.05
<u>Mid-Far West</u>				
	Major event related to the image of Kennedy, Cuban missile crisis, less concern.	4	13.30	.01
	Mental image, "no opinion," "intelligent."	8	23.53	.01
	Rating of contemporary poli- ticians, Kennedy "average."	8	21.48	.01
<u>South</u>				
	Mental image, "war hero."	8	23.00	.01
	Mental image, "intelligent."	8	23.53	.01
	Rating of contemporary poli- ticians, Kennedy.	12	27.79	.01
	Rating of most recent Presi- dents, Kennedy.	10	26.43	.01
	Magazines read, <u>Look</u> .	6	17.89	.02
	Impact of Kennedy greater than other regions	4	9.80	.05

TABLE 51

CHI-SQUARE TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE, BY VOLUNTARY
 ORGANIZATIONS, ON ELEMENTS OF THE KENNEDY
 IMAGE

Voluntary Organizations	Variable	df	χ^2	Signifi- cance Level
<u>Fraternity & Sorority</u>				
	Rating of contemporary politicians, Rockefeller.	7	19.13	.01
	Rating of contemporary politicians, Goldwater.	7	16.23	.02
	Rating of most recent Presidents, Roosevelt.	5	12.87	.05
<u>Independents</u>				
	Rating of contemporary politicians, Johnson.	7	19.52	.01
	Rating of contemporary politicians, Humphrey.	7	19.12	.01

TABLE 52

CHI-SQUARE TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE, BY SELF SUPPORT,
ON ELEMENTS OF THE KENNEDY IMAGE

Extent of Self-support	Variable	df	x ²	Signifi- cance Level
<u>All</u>				
	Mental image, "good spekaer."	12	27.02	.01
	Death of Robert Kennedy, no impact on image of John Kennedy.	3	9.83	.02
<u>None</u>				
	Impact of parent's judg- ment of Kennedy, there is a direct relationship between degree of paren- tal support and impact of parent's judgment.	9	19.25	.05

TABLE 53

CHI-SQUARE TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE, BY POLITICAL
IDENTIFICATION, ON ELEMENTS OF THE
KENNEDY IMAGE

Political Identifi- cation	Variable	df	x ²	Signifi- cance Level
<u>Far Left</u>				
	Major event related to the image of Kennedy, inaugural address.	6	30.19	.01
	Major event related to the image of Kennedy, Ole Miss.	6	37.30	.01
	Mental image, "insincere." (12% of Far Left Sample).	12	33.49	.01
	Rating of Kennedy, "great."	6	29.51	.01
	Influence of Kennedy on attitude toward Civil Rights Movement.	9	48.45	.01
	Rating of contemporary politicians, Johnson.	21	81.46	.01
	Rating of contemporary politicians, Humphrey.	21	140.51	.01
	Rating of contemporary politicians, Kennedy.	15	49.44	.01
	Major event related to the image of Kennedy, assassination.	6	13.77	.05
	Mental image, "war hero."	12	83.33	.05
	Mental image, "friend of Negro."	6	22.81	.05
<u>Democrats</u>				
	Attitude toward office of the Presidency, positive.	6	13.38	.05

TABLE 53--Continued

Political Identifi- cation	Variable	df	χ^2	Signifi- cance Level
<u>Republican</u>				
	Mental image, "indecisive."	12	29.73	.01
	Rating of contemporary politicians, Nixon.	21	158.88	.01
	Rating of contemporary politicians, Goldwater.	21	111.01	.01
	Rating of most recent Presidents, Hoover.	15	38.07	.01
	Rating of most recent Presidents, Eisenhower.	15	62.89	.01
<u>Far Right</u>				
	Mental image, "soft on communism."	12	28.56	.01
	Mental image, "insincere."	12	23.49	.01
	Rating of contemporary politicians, Wallace	21	109.69	.01
	Rating of contemporary politicians, McCarthy.	21	48.61	.01

TABLE 54

CHI-SQUARE TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE, BY POLITICAL IDEOLOGY,
ON ELEMENTS OF THE KENNEDY IMAGE

Political Ideology	Variable	df	χ^2	Signifi- cance Level
<u>Liberal</u>	First impression of Kennedy, favorable.	2	18.65	.01
	Impact of Kennedy, great.	2	18.61	.01
	Major event related to the image of Kennedy, inaugural address.	2	18.57	.01
	Major event related to the image of Kennedy, "Ole Miss."	2	15.33	.01
	Mental image, "dynamic personality.	4	14.42	.01
	Mental image, strongly dis- agreed, "indecisive."	4	14.27	.01
	Reduced prejudice against a Catholic President.	3	16.24	.01
	Rating of Kennedy, "great."	4	37.69	.01
	Rating of contemporary politicians, Johnson.	7	53.39	.01
	Rating of contemporary politicians, Kennedy.	7	39.24	.01
	Rating of contemporary politicians, Humphrey.	7	66.60	.01
	Rating of contemporary politicians, McCarthy	7	22.96	.01
	Rating of contemporary politicians, Rockefeller.	7	21.36	.01
	Rating of our most recent Presidents, Kennedy.	5	30.51	.01
	Rating of most recent Presidents, Johnson.	5	36.66	.01

TABLE 54--Continued

Political Ideology	Variable	df	χ^2	Signifi- cance Level
<u>Liberal</u>	Influence attitude toward civil rights.	4	27.17	.01
	Major event related to the image of Kennedy, debates with Nixon.	2	8.70	.02
	Mental image, strongly dis- agreed Kennedy "snobbish."	4	12.70	.02
	Interest in Kennedy versus Johnson.	2	8.72	.02
	Handling of domestic issues favorably presented by mass media.	4	10.05	.05
<u>Conservative</u>	Family presented favorably by mass media.	4	16.65	.01
	Mental image, "soft on communism."	4	17.49	.01
	Mental image, no opinion, "indecisive."	4	14.27	.01
	Rating of contemporary politicians, Nixon.	7	89.29	.01
	Rating of contemporary politicians, Goldwater.	7	72.93	.01
	Rating of contemporary politicians, Wallace.	7	72.52	.01
	Rating of most recent Presidents, Hoover.	5	29.01	.01
	Rating of most recent Presidents, Roosevelt.	5	34.19	.01
	Rating of most recent Presidents, Eisenhower.	5	40.27	.01

TABLE 54--Continued

Political Ideology	Variable	df	X ²	Signifi- cance Level
<u>Conservative</u>				
	Impact of Kennedy, "none."	4	27.17	.01
	Most believable source of news, radio.	3	11.32	.02
	Mental image, no opinion, "snobbish."	4	12.70	.02
	Major event related to the image of Kennedy Bay of Pigs.	2	7.93	.02
	Magazine regularly read, <u>U.S. News.</u>	3	8.85	.05

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VITA

The writer was born July 21, 1933, in Monroe, Louisiana. He was graduated from Pasadena Academy, Pasadena, California, in June, 1951. After serving three years as a paratrooper in the U.S. Army, he returned to college. In June, 1960, he was graduated from Northwest Nazarene College, Nampa, Idaho with a B.A. degree in history. In September, 1961, he enrolled in the Nazarene Theological Seminary, Kansas City, Missouri, but resigned after one semester. In June, 1962, he enrolled in the graduate school of Louisiana State University where he received a master's degree in sociology in January, 1964.

The writer was an instructor in sociology at Auburn University, Auburn, Alabama in 1963-64, and at Lamar State College of Technology, Beaumont, Texas in 1964-65. At this time he returned to Louisiana State University where he pursued graduate studies while serving as a teaching assistant. In 1967, the writer accepted a position in the Department of Criminology, at Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida, as assistant professor of criminology. At this writing the writer still holds that position.


EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

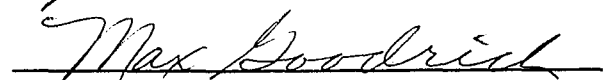
Candidate: Jack Wright, Jr.

Major Field: Sociology



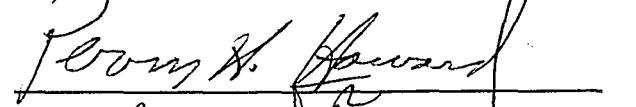
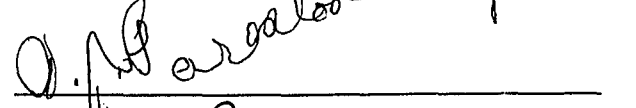
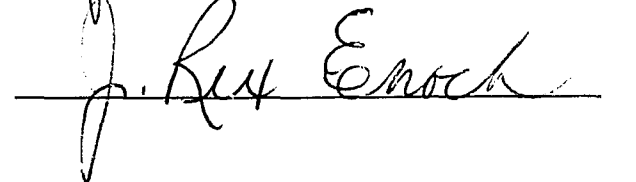
Title of Thesis: A Comparison of the Projected Image of John F. Kennedy in the
Mass Media with the Held-Image of a Sample of College Students

Approved:


Major Professor and Chairman


Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

Date of Examination: July 21, 1969